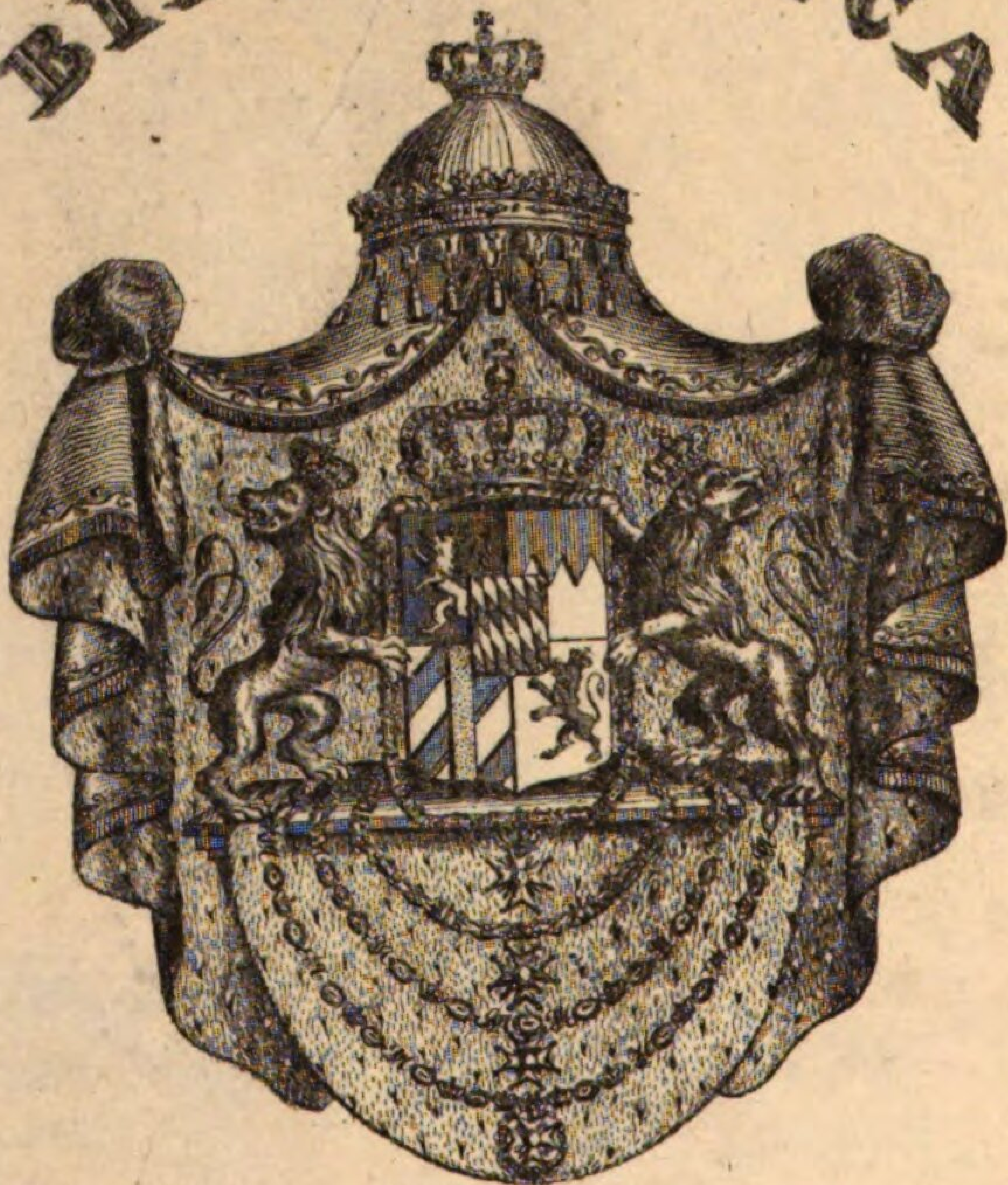
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THE

HISTORY

OF

WALES,

IN NINE BOOKS.

WITH AN

APPENDIX.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM WARRINGTON,

CHAPLAIN TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF BESBOROUGH.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

"Wherever Nature, though in narrow space,
Fosters, by Freedom's aid, a liberal race;
Sees Virtue save them from Oppression's den,
And cries, with exultation, 'These are men;'
Though in Bœotia or Batavia born,
Their deeds the story of the world adorn."

HAYLEY'S ESSAY ON HISTORY.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

WALES.

BOOK VII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF LLEWELYN AP IORWERTH TO THE DEATH OF DAVID AP LLEWELYN.

IORWERTH the son of Owen Gwynedd, on his father's decease, had been set aside from the succession of North Wales, on account of a personal blemish. His son Llewelyn, by this time, arrived at years of maturity, and desirous of asserting his

indubitable right to the throne, solicited the assistance of his friends in Powys; his mother being the daughter of Madoc the chief of that family. With the aid which he obtained from thence, and what he received from his own kinsmen in North Wales, he demanded the crown in preference to David his uncle. The claim of the young prince, assisted by his po-
A. D. 1194. pular talents, was allowed. In this easy manner was Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, as the right heir to the crown, placed in the sovereignty of North Wales. His uncle David, the late reigning prince, retained in his possession only a few fortresses which were garrisoned by the English.*

A. D. 1194. 5th of Richard I. Richard king of England, returned, at this time, into his own dominions; having engaged four years before in a croisade to the Holy Land; led away by his own romantic spirit, and the epidemic frenzy of the age.

* Welsh Chron. p. 245.

During the absence of the English monarch in France, the archbishop of Canterbury was appointed justiciary of the realm; and repairing to the Welsh Borders * with a large army, he laid siege to the castle of Pool, the property of Gwenwynwyn the son of Owen Cyveilioc. But finding his endeavours to take the place by storm not successful, he began to undermine the walls; which the garrison percieving, yielded up the fortress, on condition that they should be allowed to depart with their arms. The works of the castle being strengthened, and an English garrison placed in it, the archbishop returned into England. On his departure, it was retaken by the original proprietor, on the same conditions on which it had been given up before.† A. D. 1195.

A series of hostilities with his sons, had of late years imbittered the peace, and had marked the conduct of Rhys ap

* Roger Hovedon, p, 775. † Welsh Chron. p. 248.

Gryffydd * Having at length ended the unnatural contest, by surprising two of his sons, and securing their persons in prison, he revolted from his allegiance to king Richard; being desirous of enlarging his territories, or touched by a sense of returning virtue. The absence of the English prince, during his residence in foreign countries, might encourage the most sanguine hopes; and afforded to Rhys a favourable opportunity of accomplishing his designs. The revolt opened by laying siege to the town and castle of Caermarthen, of which he easily gained possession; then, after laying waste the
A. D. 1195, adjacent country, he led his army into the marches, and invested the castle of Clun, which, after a loug siege, and

* In the first year of king Richard's reign, Rhys ap Gryffydd came into England as far as Oxford, conducted by the earl of Moreton. And because the king would not personally meet the said Gryffydd, as his father had done, he fell into a passion, and returned into his own country. See Brady's Hist. Eng. p. 459.

many terrible assaults, he made himself master of, and entirely demolished. From thence he proceeded to Radnor, which fortress he likewise obtained. To the defence of this place Sir Roger Mortimer came with a considerable body of well armed and veteran troops, which were opposed by the raw and almost unarmed soldiers of the Welsh prince; who, sallying from the castle, drove the English after a bloody action out of the field. He then proceeded to Payne castle in Elvel, which having reduced, he delivered it back to William de Bruce on certain conditions.*

The late enterprises, which had given a lustre to his declining day, closed the career of Rhys ap Gryffydd; and, in a little time after, he quitted this world, on the stage of which he had exhibited uncommon versatility of character.† If there had been less of caprice in his A. D. 1196.

* Welsh Chron. p. 247, 248.

† He was interred in the Abbey of Strata Florida, (*Ystrad Fflur*) in the county of Caerdigan, which

conduct, if his valour, his patriotism, and other talents for command, had been directed by a steady and uniform principle, the name of this prince would have appeared with the highest glory in the annals of his counry; the honour and the liberties of which, he, at times, defended, with so much zeal and success.

David, the lately deposed prince of North Wales, assisted by an army of English, and a body of Welsh who still adhered to his fortunes, made an attempt to recover the sovereignty he had lost. But the enterprise was easily disconcerted by the rapidity of Llewelyn; who, advancing to give his uncle the meeting,
A. D. 1197. defeated his forces, took him prisoner, and lodged him in confinement.*

he himself had erected; and which became the burial place of the succeeding lords of his family. Manuscript of Edward Llwyd in Sir John Seabright's collection. British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 19. Welsh Chron. p. 247, 248.

* At the close of this year Owen Cyveilioc died, leaving the higher Powys to his son Gwenwynwyn;

Although by the combined influence of policy and power, the English had at length obtained the ascendency in South Wales; individuals were frequently hurried into revolt, by the perfidious and inhuman conduct of the lords of the marches: but the ineffectual efforts of this miserable people to recover their liberties, or to avenge their wrongs, as they acted only from the spur of their feelings, without concert or prudence, served only to rivet more closely their chains. Trahaearn Vychan, a chieftain of distinction in Brecknock, as he was repairing to Langors to confer on business with William de Bruce lord of that country, was arrested by order of the English baron; tied to a horse's tail, and in that ignominious manner dragged through the town to the

which territory in future was called by the name of that chieftain, to distinguish it from Powys Vadoc, the other division of that country. This prince was a Bard of some eminence; a few poems of his are extant at this day, A. D. 1197. Welsh Chron. p. 250, 251. Humphrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 70.

gallows, where he was beheaded, and his body suspended by the feet three days.*

In revenge of this outrage, Gwenwynwyn laid siege to the castle of Matilda † in Elvel, the property of William de Bruce; declaring that after he had gained possession of that fortress, he would set fire to all the country as far as the Severn; a sacrifice which he owed to the manes of Trahaearn Vychan his kinsman. Not having any miners in his army, or battering engines, the Welsh chieftain lay three weeks before the castle; which delay gave time to William de Bruce to send into England for succour. Geoffry Fitz Peter, justiciary of England, instantly came to his relief, having joined to his army the different powers of the lords of the marches; and as the event of war was uncertain, he was desirous of terminating the dispute by concluding a

A. D. 1198. 9th of Richard I.

* Welsh Chron. p. 250, 251. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 70.

† In the present county of Radnor.

peace with Gwenwynwyn. The offer was rejected with disdain. The Welsh declared their firm resolution of avenging, in this enterprise, the ancient wrongs of their country. The English, then, released out of confinement Gryffydd, the son of the late Rhys ap Gryffydd: between whom and Gwenwynwyn they knew, at this time, subsisted a deadly feud; and being joined by the forces raised by that chieftain, they advanced to the relief of the castle of Matilda. Confident of his strength, Gwenwynwyn faced the English in an open plain; though experience might have convinced him of the prudence of a different conduct. In this action the Welsh were defeated; if that can with propriety be called an action, in which no other loss was sustained by the English army, than that of a single soldier, and even that soldier slain by a random arrow by his own party. Besides the wounded and the prisoners, many of whom were of considerable note, three thousand and seventy of the Welsh were

left dead on the field.* It is not easy to account for the facility with which the English obtained this victory. The rashness of the Welsh leader was probably the cause of his defeat; in fighting on the open plain, with such troops as his own, undisciplined and slightly armed, against a firm and well appointed body like the English.

At this time Richard king of England was slain at the siege of Chalons, an inconsiderable town in Limosin. John his brother succeeded to the throne.

A. D. 1199.

Deeply engaged in foreign concerns, the English prince, on his accession, sent Hubert de Burgh his chamberlain, with one hundred knights, to protect the marches on the confines of Wales.† A treaty of peace was, likewise, concluded

* Math. Paris, p. 162. Holinshead, p. 154. Welsh Chron. p. 252, speaks of the defeat, but not of the number slain.

† Roger Hovedon, p. 819. Holinshead, p. 163.

between Llewelyn ap Iorwerth prince of North Wales, and the earl of Essex justiciary of the realm. In this treaty, Llewelyn, with the principal chieftains of his realm, swore to the observance of the following articles. To maintain perpetual fidelity to king John, in the fulness of feudal ideas. To receive at the hands of the justiciary of England livery and seisin of his territories; which he was to hold in security until the king's return. On the arrival of the English king, when summoned to appear, he should come and pay homage to him as to his liege lord; but when that duty was performed, he was to return to his own country in perfect security; only liable to pay a strict obedience to any summons of the like nature. In consideratlon of this, the king was to pardon all offences committed prior to the day of pacification; but if any complaints should arise in future, it was to be in Llewelyn's choice, whether the cause should be tried by the laws of England, or by those of Wales.

If he choose that the merits of his cause should be tried according to the English law, a court was to be appointed in England; where judgment should be given agreeably to the laws of that country. If the prince was desirous that the Welsh laws should determine the controversy, and it were found on inquiry that he had a right to take cognizance of such a matter, the cause should then be decided in his own court; but if it were found otherwise, the king in that case, was to send some of his own subjects, eminent for their wisdom, into the territory of Llewelyn, and where the matter was in controversy; before whom the cause should be tried, and judgment given by a certain number of Welshmen, selected from places at a distance, as being on that account not liable to the suspicion of partiality; and their award was to be final. If after the ratification of the peace, any injury should be done by Llewelyn to the king, or to any of his subjects, reparation should be made agreeably to

the award of some of the English nobility, particularly mentioned for that purpose. But it was also required from those arbitrators, that they should administer judgment with justice, to the honour of God and of the king. If any injury was done in the English territories, and the offenders should escape into the dominions of Llewelyn, and the persons suffering the damage, or others, pursuing them into the said dominions, that Llewelyn should cause the plunder to be restored, and execute justice on the malefactors. If the offender should have escaped into the territories of Llewelyn, or concealed themselves therein, that prince, then, engaged to do all in his power to obtain satisfaction, as if the injury had been done to himself. This peace was signed by the archbishop of Canterbury, and by the son of the justiciary of the realm; who set their seals to the writing as a security for the due observance of the treaty, until it should be ratified by the king on his return into England. The tenor of this treaty, though in general formed on the

A. D. 1202. 3d of John.

principles of justice, was so fully expressive of vassalage, that it seems, as if the independency of Wales was annihilated.*

The peace with England afforded Llewelyn the opportunity of exerting the native vigour of his mind. Some time before, he had confiscated the estates of Meredydd his cousin,† and had banished him the realm upon a suspicion of treason.‡ He thought an interval of leisure could not be more usefully employed, than in attempting to restore the ancient constitution of his country; a rude though venerable fabric; which, having long remained a monument of its pristine grandeur, had fallen into decay in the lapse of ages.

The Welsh princes, by the laws of Roderic the Great, and by those of Howel

* Rymer's Fœdera, p. 125.

† The Cantrevs of Llun and Evionydd, situated in the South West parts of Caernarvonshire. Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 20.

‡ Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 20.

Dda, though independent in their own territories, yet acknowledged the sovereignty of North Wales. To connect the loose and separated parts into one system of government, Llewelyn convened an assembly of all the chieftains throughout Wales. These nobles, sensible of the advantage of union, and of adhering to ancient forms, took the usual oaths of fealty.* Gwenwynwyn, alone, the lord of the higher Powys, refused to attend the meeting, or to take the oath of allegiance. His refusal being known to the assembly, they declared, that he ought to be compelled to the performance of his duty, or to forfeit his territories, as a part of the feudal obligation. One chieftain, alone, of the name of Elis, refused his consent to any mode of compulsion, and suddenly withdrew from the meeting. Deeply interested in the event, Llewelyn did not suffer the seeds of disobedience to mature by time into stronger resistance. He led an army into Powys; but that

* British Ant. Rev. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

force, by the mediation of several persons in estimation for wisdom in the country, was rendered unnecessary; and Gwenwynwyn made his submission to the prince of Wales, which he confirmed by the usual formalities. Resenting the conduct of Elis, Llewelyn took possession of his estates, and obliged him to fly out of the country; but that chieftain, soon afterwards, yielding himself up to his mercy, had a castle, with some land, assigned him for his maintenance. Having so hap-
A. D. 1203. happily finished this important measure, Llewelyn returned into North Wales.*

The English king, having lost a great part of his territories in France, returned into England. On his arrival, he gave Joan, a daughter, which he had by a lady of the house of Ferres, in marriage to Llewelyn; as a reward for the due observance of the late treaty, or as a means of securing those advantages, which he might think would naturally result from

* Welsh Chron. p. 257, 258.

such an alliance. With this lady, was given as a dower, the lordship of Elesmere in Shropshire.* A. D. 1204. 5th of John.

Prince Llewelyn, in his youth, had married Tangwystl, daughter of Llywarch Goch the lord of Rhos; by whom he had a son, very brave, called Gryffydd ap Llewelyn; who, as heir apparent, had the *Cantrevs* of Englefield, Rhos, Rhyvonioc, and Dyffryn Clwyd given him by his father, being the country adjoining to England; in order that the young prince might be induced, by a closer motive of interest, to defend his own territories, from the common enemy the English. He married, during his father's ther's life, Sina daughter of Caradoc ap † Thomas. ‡

* Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 22. says she was a legitimate daughter. Fabian, in his reign of John says, that she was a natural one. Welsh Chron. p. 259.

† Ap Roderic ap Owen Gwynedd. ‡ History of Gwedir Family, p. 24. British Ant. Rev. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 29.

David, the deposed prince of North Wales, having been set at liberty by his nephew, fled into England; and procured in that country an army to assist him in recovering the throne. The enterprise failed of success; he was met on his march by Llewelyn, and his army defeated;* and some time after, that unfortunate prince, with his son Owen, were slain at Conway.†

A. D. 1208. Gwenwynwyn, the chief of the higher Powys, having repaired to Shrewsbury, that he might confer with the lords of the council, was arrested by their order, and detained a prisoner;‡ without any apparent cause, unless to extort, as conditions of obtaining his liberty, the following concessions. That he should, in the usual forms, become a vassal to the king of England; that he should serve him faithfully as holding under him his life and territories; that he should abide

* Welsh Chron. p. 259. † Hist. Gwedir Fam. p. 13. ‡ Welsh Chron. p. 260.

the justice of his courts whenever summoned to attend; that he should deliver up twenty hostages for the due performance of the treaty; and should remain in custody until those hostages were all given up. At the same time the king bound himself to take his territories under his protection, and to be responsible for any injury which they might receive.* A. D. 1208.

In this situation of Powys, Llewelyn invaded the territories of the imprisoned chieftain, and gained possession of all his castles and towns; he then marched into South Wales, and after some slight successes, returned into his own country.† The same year, however, in consequence of Llewelyn's submission, as appears by his letters directed to the king at Bristol, a full pardon was granted him by that monarch, for the depredations he had lately committed on the territories of

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 151.
† Welsh Chron. p. 261.

Gwenwynwyn, while under his protection;* which pardon appears also to have
A. D. 1209. been confirmed the year following; as the Welsh prince did homage, either in person or by proxy, to the king at Woodstock. †

The earl of Chester, having made an inroad into North Wales, rebuilt the castle of Diganwy upon the water of
A. D. 1210. Conway, which had been lately demolished by Llewelyn; he likewise more strongly fortified the castle of Holywell.* The prince of Wales, in return, invaded the earl's territoris, desolated a great part of them, and carried away considerable plunder.‡

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. 1. p. 151.

† Math. Paris, p. 191, who says, that this was the first homage which had ever been heard of, and that such journies were very oppressive both to the rich and poor.

‡ *Treffynnon.*—A. D. 1210. This year died Maud de Bruce, wife to Gryffydd ap Rhys, and was buried in a monk's cowl, at Strata-Florida, by her husband. Welsh Chron. p. 264. § Welsh Chron. p. 262.

Incensed at this incursion, and breach of fidelity, John assembled a large army at Oswestry, upon the Borders of Wales. He was there joined by many of the Welsh chieftains his vassals; the most considerable of whom were Madoc ap Gryffydd Maelor, and Gwenwynwyn, who on this occasion was restored to his liberty; besides the two sons of Rhys, the late prince of South Wales. With this formidable army he marched to Chester, in the full resolution of exterminating the people of North Wales.*

A. D. 1211. 12th of John.

Llewelyn, unable to resist a force, composed not only of a foreign enemy, but of his own vassals, who had basely deserted their late engagements, thought it prudent to withdraw from the storm; and he ordered the inhabitants of the inland country,† to remove with their goods and cattle to the mountains of Snowdun. The

* Welsh Chron. p. 264.

† Parts of Denbighshire and Flintshire.

English army, advancing along the sea coast, came to Rhuddlan;* and from thence to the castle of Diganwy,† opposite to the country of Snowdun; where they remained for some time. But Llewelyn so continually infested the roads with his light parties, that John and his forces were reduced to the greatest difficulties. By cutting off their provisions as they arrived out of England, the army was reduced to the necessity of feeding upon the flesh of horses; and the soldiers, whenever they stirred from the camp, were liable to be cut in pieces; the Welsh, from a knowledge of the country, and from being posted on eminences, had usually the advantage in every skirmish. From this situation, John thought it prudent, after the loss he had sustained, to retreat into England, stung with disgrace, and breathing the spirit of revenge.‡

* Red banks; and which might probably take its name from the appearance of the country; or from the battle, so fatal to the Welsh, which was fought upon Rhuddlan marsh. † Annales de Margan, p. 15. Welsh Chronicle, p. 264. ‡ Ibid.

Having augmented his army, a few months after, the king came again to Oswestry; and being there joined by the Welsh chieftains* who were his vassals, he advanced to the Conway; which having passed, he encamped his forces upon the banks of that river. He then dispatched a detachment of his army, attended by proper guides, to burn the town of Bangor. The design was executed with spirit and success; the place was set on fire, and Rotpert the bishop of that diocese taken prisoner, though afterwards ransomed for two hundred hawks. Llewelyn, seeing the power of Wales and of England combined against him, and that power, too, commanded by an English monarch, who had penetrated far into his country; and seeing also that he, himself, was confined

A. D. 1211. 12th of John.

* Howel ap Gryffydd ap Cynan ap Owen Gwynedd; Madoc ap Gryffydd Maelor, Lord of Bromfield, Cherk, and Yale; Meredydd ap Rotpert, lord of Cydewen; Gwenwynwyn, lord of Powys; Maelgon and Rhys Vychan, the sons of prince Rhys of South Wales.—Welsh Chron. p. 264.

within the extreme verge of his dominions, thought it more prudent to sue for peace, at the expence of some important concessions, rather than to hazard the whole, by carrying on so unequal a contest. As he had in his own person so little pretension to the king's clemency, having lately violated the probable conditions of his pardon, Llewelyn thought it more wise to negociate by the mediation of his wife. This princess so powerfully interceded with her father, that he was willing, on certain conditions, to take Llewelyn into favour. Hostages were sent to that prince, that he might with safety repair to the English camp; where, having done homage, a peace was concluded on the conditions of giving forty horses, and twenty thousand head of cattle, towards defraying the expences of the war; he likewise ceded to the king for ever the inland parts of his dominions. Twenty-eight hostages were given by Llewelyn, as a security for the observance of the treaty. After this fortunate expedition,

king John returned into England.* Resenting the conduct of those military vassals who had nor served him in the late expedition, he exacted from every knight, a scutage of two marks of silver.† A. D. 1211.

Thus was the remnant of the British Empire, after many and gallant struggles for freedom, driven almost to the verge of the ocean. But the prosperity of this injured people, though deeply clouded for the present, was not extinguished for ever. Their native spirit, confined in narrow limits, and set on fire by the agency of various causes, burst through every restraint; and, like the irruptive violence of a volcano, poured down devastation and vengeance upon the heads of their hated oppressors.

The wild disorder in the conduct of the king of England, happily for posterity,

* Aunales Margan, p. 15, says thirty-two hostages. Welsh Chron. p. 265. Thomas Wykes, p. 36. Chron. Walter Hemingford, p. 556.

† Math. Paris, p. 193, 194.

had convulsed every parts of his dominions; and, aided by superstition, had loosened every spring of government, and every tie of duty and affection which binds the subject to the prince. The Pope, at this time, released Wales from the interdict under which that country had lain; and also absolved Llewelyn from the oaths of homage and allegiance which he had taken at the late peace.*

A conjuncture so favourable determined Llewelyn, if possible, to rescue his country from the vassalage, into which it had fallen by the necessity of affairs, and the disunion of its chieftains. He convened, for this purpose, Gwenwynwyn, and Madoc ap Gryffydd Maelor, the lords of Powys; with Maelgwyn ap Rhys from South Wales, and Meredydd ap Rotpert from
A. D. 1212. Cydewen. To these chieftains he represented the miserable situation of their country, owing to their own want of

* Math. Paris, p. 194. Annales Waverleiensis, p. 174. British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 26.

virtue, in having basely deserted its interests; he assured them, that even now, by their spirit and united exertions, instead of living voluntary and abject vassals under the pressure of a foreign yoke, they might still enjoy their ancient liberties under the dominion of their native princes. Superstition, or the force of his reasoning, or the mingled effect of both, impressed on the minds of these capricious chieftains, a momentary gleam of patriotism. They once again took the oaths of allegiance to the prince of North Wales. Being joined by their several powers, Llewelyn commenced hostilities; seizing all the fortresses which the English possessed in his dominions, and putting to the sword, with a barbarous rage, all the knights and soldiers who defended them.* In the course of this inroad, he set on fire many villages, and carried away very considerable plunder.† Not being able to make any impression on the castle of Rhuddlan, and on the strong fortress of Diganwy, he fell with great fury

* Welsh Chron. p. 266. † Math. Paris, p. 194.

upon Powys, and invested the castle of Mathraval, lately fortified by Robert Vepont; but the strength of that fortress, delaying, some time, his operations, gave John an opportunity of coming to its relief. On his approach the confederates retired. Having caused this fortress to be demolished, king John returned into England, more important objects, in his own dominions, demanding his attention. Llewelyn, on the king's departure, again rendered the marches a scene of desolation.*

As soon as John heard of these incursions, of the ravages which Llewelyn had made, and of the cruelties he had exercised on his prisoners, he advanced to Nottingham, with a great army of infantry and horse; in the full resolution of chastising the revolters, by exterminating the inhabitants of the country. So violent was his anger, that the moment he arrived at that town, he commanded the hostages, twenty-eight in number, to be instantly

* Welsh Chron. p. 267.

hanged; and he refused to take any refreshment until the execution was over.* The most cruel of the Roman tyrants, those scourges of the human race, had surely, at this instant, infused his infernal spirit into the soul of the English monarch. These innocent victims,† delivered up to John at the late peace, were all of them very young, and allied to the most distinguished families in Wales.‡ This tragedy being finished, while he was yet at table, meditating vengeance on the Welsh, he received two letters; one of which was from the king of Scotland, and the other was from his daughter, § the wife of prince Llewelyn, These letters, though proceeding from different quarters, conveyed to him the same alarming intelligence, that

A. D. 1212. 13th of John.

* Math. Paris, p. 194.

† At the same time Robert Vepont hanged Rhys the son of Maelgwyn, a child not seven years old, at Shrewsbury. Welsh Chron. p. 267.

‡ Annales Margan, p. 15. Holinshead, p. 176. Welsh Chron. p. 267.

§ Welsh Chron. p. 267.

a dangerous conspiracy was forming against his life. This information threw the English monarch into the deepest dismay; he shut himself up in the castle of Nottingham, where he continued a fortnight in a sullen and gloomy solitude; scarcely any person whatever being admitted into his presence. Having made no further discovery in the affair, time at length dispersed his fears; and persisting in the design of subduing the Welsh, he advanced to Chester. He once more received in that city, from the princess his daughter, intimations of the same dangerous import; that if he advanced any farther, his ruin was inevitable; as he would certainly be either murdered by the nobility in his own army, or be betrayed into the hands of the enemy. The king's firmness, and his desire of revenge, gave way to these repeated alarms; fear and distrust took possession of his mind; and hearing, at the same time, that the Pope had dissolved the allegiance of his subjects, he

dismissed his army on a sudden, and returned to London.*

The animosity which is natural to men, who had just broken asunder their fetters, and who were eager to recover their liberty, was heightened still more by the spirit of enthusiasm. The Welsh had not only been released from the oaths which they had taken to John, but the Pope had likewise denounced his bitterest curses, if they did not, under the banners of the church, rise up to fulminate its vengeance; by attempting the utter destruction of a prince who had presumed to contemn his authority. Influenced by these powerful motives, the inhabitants of the inland country, which at the late peace had been ceded to John, acknowledged the sovereignty of Llewelyn.† He soon after obtained

* Math. Paris, p. 194. Brady's Hist. England, p. 482. Annales Waverleiensis, p. 173. Thomas Wykes, p. 37. Holinshead, p. 176.

* Annales Waverleiensis, p. 174. Welsh Chron. p. 268, 270.

possession of the castles of Diganwy and Rhuddlan; places of great importance on
A. D. 1214. the frontier of his kingdom.* Thus were the English, by a sudden turn in affairs, entirely driven out of North Wales.† The dissensions, at this time, prevailing in England, favoured the generous designs of Llewelyn. But that prince, instead of checking the current of his fortunes, took advantage of the tide which was flowing in his favour; and pressing forward with an eager spirit after glory, extended the circle of his conquests, and added fresh reputation to his arms.

The barons of England, having renounced their allegiance to king John, on his refusal to confirm their constitutional rights, entered into a confederacy with Llewelyn prince of Wales.‡ It seems, as

* Annales Waverleiensis, p. 174. Welsh Chron, p. 268, 270.

† Annales Margan, p. 15.

‡ Welsh Chron. p. 270. Annales Waverleiensis, p. 182

if this alliance had given great alarm to the English monarch, as he sent an order to Llewelyn to meet his commissioners at Griffin's Cross; that the Welsh prince might confer with them on matters of importance, which related to his honour and his interests.* With a versatility of conduct, which insulted the common sense of mankind, the Pope, at this time, excommunicated Llewelyn and all his adherents; for having made war upon a prince,† recently the object of his vengeance, but who of late had been admitted into the bosom of the church; a privilege he had meanly purchased by concessions, degrading to the dignity of princes, as well as injurious to the rights of his people, and the imperial crown of his ancestors. In defiance of this anathema, Llewelyn made an incursion into Powys, and, with much ease, gained possession of the town and castle of Shrewsbury; no longer intimidated by

A. D. 1215. 16th of John.

* Rymer's Fœdera, p. 196.

† Annales Waverleiensis, p. 182. Welsh Ch. p. 271.

censures so scandalously prostituted, nor from oaths of allegiance from which he had been lately absolved.

A. D. 1215. On his return to his own dominions, and in order to strengthen the interest of his family by a powerful alliance, Llewelyn gave his daughter in marriage to Reginald de Bruce, an English Lord of great eminence, in South Wales.*

Sinking under the censures of the Church, Giles de Bruce, an English baron, deserted the confederacy, and made his peace with the English king. Llewelyn, firm to his engagements, and active in in support of the common cause, instead of shrinking from the danger, invested with a considerable force the castle of Caermarthen; which, after a resistance of five days, he made himself master of, and levelled with the ground. The same fate attended the fortresses of Llanstephan, St. Clair, and Talacharn. To

* Welsh Chron. p. 273.

keep alive the spirit of his troops, he marched into the district of Caerdigan, and gained the castles of Emlyn, Cemaes, and Newport; then closing the campaign by the reduction of the castles of Caerdigan and Cilgerran, he returned into his own dominions. In this expedition, he was attended by all the confederate chieftains, whose attachment to his interest he had hitherto secured, by the vigour and wisdom of his conduct.*

The late fortunate campaign having given to the Welsh prince a great part of South Wales, he came again into that country as the lord Paramount; to arbitrate some disputes which had arisen in the family of the late Rhys ap Gryffydd. Having adjusted the several claims by a division of the country in dispute, as he was returning into his own dominions, he received intelligence that Gwenwynwyn, A. D. 1216.

* Welsh Chron. p. 273. Hist. Gwedir Fam. p. 26.

the lord of the higher Powys, had renounced his allegiance, and was again become a vassal to the English king. This information gave Llewelyn the greatest uneasiness; he saw the evil that would arise, if a chieftain of such influence and power, should, at a juncture like this, desert the confederacy; when fortune had hitherto so happily favoured the united exertions of their arms. Desirous, by the mildest means, of drawing him back to a sense of his honour and duty, Llewelyn sent to him several bishops and abbots to remonstrate on the nature of his conduct. The prelates pointed to the oaths he had violated, shewed him the very deed subscribed by himself, and which he had given as a pledge of his fidelity; the clemency also of the prince he had offended, and the danger of exposing to the resentment of Llewelyn the hostages which were left in his hands. These considerations were urged in vain. Gwenwynwyn was obstinate, and would listen to no terms of reconciliation. That

his justic, then, might punish the delinquency of a vassal, whom his mildness had not been able to reclaim, Llewelyn instantly invaded Powys, laid waste with fire and sword the territories of that chieftain, and obliged him to fly for protection into the dominions of the earl of Chester.*

The confederacy, of late, had received a sanction and a strength, by the accession to their party of Lewis the Dauphin of France. Despair, and the dread of a tyrant, had suggested the wretched alternative, and had hurried on the dangerous expedient. Unable to resist the malecontent barons, increasing both in power and importance, the English king retreated to Hereford; and from thence, sent to solicit the aid and protection of Reginald de Bruce, and of his son in law the prince of Wales. Neither ties of affinity, nor the emotion of pity, had, however, any in-

* Welsh Chron. p. 274.

fluence on the conduct of Llewelyn. On just principles of policy, he rejected the solicitations of the unfortunate monarch. Experience and the strength of his mind would inform him, thatno confidence ought to be placed in a prince so weak and capricious; that the ascendency which his arms had lately obtained over England, was principally owing to the distracted state of that kingdom; and that it was his duty, as the guardian of the public weal, to foment its dissensions; the liberties and even the safety of his own country depending upon the weakness, or intestine divisions of the English.

Resenting this conduct in the Welsh prince, John demolished the castles of Radnor and Hay; after which, proceeding farther into the marches, he set fire to the town of Oswestry.* But, in a little time after, disgrace and misfortunes still

* Welsh Chron, p. 275.

pursuing his conduct; a victim to fatigue, to sickness and a broken spirit, this weak and miserable prince ended his days. His son, Henry the third, yet an infant, succeeded to the crown of England. A. D. 1217.

On his accession to the throne, Reginald de Bruce, who had lately married Llewelyn's daughter, returned to the allegiance which he owed to the English monarch; deserting in a moment of caprice the solemn engagements which he had made to the prince of Wales. It seems in these miserable ages, as if oaths, and other sacred ties of society, had lost all their power of binding the conscience.

Resenting the defection of such a powerful baron, so closely united to his family, Llewelyn made an incursion into the territory belonging to Bruce; and invested Brecknock* its principal town.

* *Aberhonddu.*

But the inhabitants, imploring his mercy, he consented to raise the siege, on condition of receiving five hostages, and one hundred marks. Pursuing his march towards Gwyr, and, passing over the black mountans in Glamorgan, he had the misfortune to lose many of his carriages. While his army lay encamped at Llangruc, Reginald de Bruce came, attended by six knights to implore the clemency of his father; a favour which he easily obtained; being not only received in the mildest manner, but having also a fortress delivered up to him, as an additional proof of that prince's confidence. Having regulated the affairs of that province, Llewelyn continued his route into Pembroke; and at Cevn Cynwarchan, he received proposals of peace from the Flemings who were settled in the country. He, at first, refused to listen to any terms of accommodation; and part of his army having passed the river Cledheu in order to attack the Flemings, the bishop of St. David, attended by his clergy, repaired to the

prince of Wales; in hopes that his own solicitations, and the influence of religion, might soften his resentment. The intercession of the bishop, at length, prevailed; and a peace was concluded, on the conditions, that the inhabitants of Rhos and Pembroke should be subject to the prince of North Wales; and, as their liege lord, should hold of him their estates, under the duties of homage and fealty; that they should pay him one thousand marks towards defraying the charges of the war, and should likewise deliver up twenty hostages, of the first note in their country, as a pledge of their future fidelity.* By the activity of his spirit and the vigour of his conduct, Llewelyn had made himself almost the entire master of Wales. And, as neither ferocity nor injustice had directed his arms, he returned form the late campaigns, encircled with more solid glory than could be derived from con-

* Welsh Chron. p. 278.

quests, which are only illustrious from the wide sweep their ravages have taken.

The ardour had subsided, with which the English barons had at first engaged in the cause of Lewis the Dauphin of France. The duplicity of his character, and the insolency of his spirit, had rendered him the object of distrust and of hatred. The great talents of the earl of Pembroke seized the fortunate moment. Guided by sentiments of the purest patriotism, he drew back to their allegiance the revolted barons; and settled the distracted state of the kingdom on principles the most humane, liberal, and wise. In this treaty, equally with the king of Scotland, Llewelyn was included; on condition that he should restore all the places which he had seized during the war.*

It is probable, on this occasion, that the prince of Wales received a summons

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 225.

to repair with the chief of his nobility to Hereford; as an order was sent to Hugh Mortimer, that provided Llewelyn came to that city, and was absolved from the sentence of excommunication, he should escort him to Northampton; where he and his attendants were to do homage to the king.* It does not appear that Llewelyn paid any regard to this summons; as at this time, the earl of Pembroke, by force of arms, took possession of the city of Caer Lleon;† and in the following year, the Welsh prince received a similar order to appear before the king at Gloucester, there to perform his homage, in presence of the council and of the pope's legate. To this summons Llewelyn thought proper to pay obedience. Being absolved by the legate, he ratified by oath the conditions of the treaty; promising to restore, with their respective territories, the castles of Caermarther and Caerdigan; as

A. D. 1218. 1st of Hen. III.

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 225.

† Welsh Chron. p. 278.

well as all other lands and fortresses which had been taken during the war from Henry's vassals in South Wales. Under the like solemn engagements, he promised, by every means in his power, that all the nobility in Wales should do homage to Henry, as to their liege lord; that none of his enemies should be allowed protection in Wales; and that, whatever injuries the king might receive, he would revenge them as if they had been done to himself.*

In so prosperous a state of his affairs, we are at a loss to account for a change, so sudden, in the conduct of Llewelyn. The wisdom and vigour of Pembroke's administration, or the dread of spiritual anathemas, acting upon his own superstition, or on that of his people, might have shaken, at length, the firmness of his mind. If we consider his conduct, as only derogating from the dignity of an independent sovereign, the idea of dis-

* Rymer, vol. p. 225.

honour is lost in the nature and habits of a feudal government. Even the king of Scotland, the year before, had performed the same duty at Northampton. But the homage which was paid by that prince, was due by mutual agreement, for the fiefs he possessed in England; whereas the duties imposed upon Llewelyn, had been extorted, at various times, without any equivalent. As it is *opinion* alone that gives dignity to princes and energy to government, these claims of the English, assuming a royal jurisdiction over Wales, and rising every day into precedent, were highly dangerous to its freedom, and were eventually the means of sapping the foundation of its power. A tacit acquiescence in claims successively made, in length of time constitutes a right. The habit of seeing the Welsh princes, passing as vassals through England, at the will of an arbitrary lord, would naturally produce, in the minds of the English, contemptuous ideas of an enemy, whom hitherto they had only heard of at a dis-

tance, or had seen spreading terror and conflagration through the frontiers of their coutry. The Welsh, too, must lose much of that veneration which they themselves had been accustomed to feel for their princes; when, instead of seeing them at the head of armies, asserting the public freedom, they saw them, on every call which pride or policy suggested, deserting the dignity of their stations; and like obsequious vassals, falling at the feet of a fastidious monarch, the hereditary foe of their nation. In the habit of considering their country as a fief of the crown of England, a fond attachment to its interests, a sense of national glory, and all manly ideas of patriotism, would lose their energy and force, and would sink at length into a cold indifference to its fate. Having neither empire nor freedom to contend for, their valour and their mountains would be equally useless, and no longer fed from its parent source, their native spirit, eager for liberty, and impatient of control, would naturally

subside into a tame and hereditary submission.

In consequence of these important concessions the king sent to acquaint Llewelyn, that several of the Welsh nobility had paid their homage; and enjoined him to give them possession of their estates; he likewise required that the remaining chieftains should be sent to perform their stipulated duties.* Agreeably to this injunction, Llewelyn sent Rhys ap Gryffydd, an eminent chieftain in South Wales, to do homage to Henry. But, with an inconsistency of conduct, accounted for only by the levity of the times, he placed new levies of soldiers in the castles of Caermarthen and Caerdigan, instead of delivering them up in conformity to his late engagements.† With a view of extending his interest still farther among the English nobility, Llewelyn gave one of his daughters in marriage

A. D. 1219. 2d of Hen. III.

* Rymer's Fœdera, p. 227. † Welsh Chron. p. 279.

to John de Bruce, a powerful baron.* And some time after, he likewise married another of his daughters to a Scots lord, who was nephew and heir to the earl of Chester.†

A. D. 1219. The Flemings having seized by force on the castle of Caerdigan, Llewelyn marched into that country; and regaining possession of it, he razed the fortress, and put the garrison to the sword. Advancing into the territory of Gwys in
A. D. 1220. Pembroke, and, likewise, destroying that castle, he set fire to the town; then penetrating farther, he continued his ravages into the country adjoining to Milford Haven;‡ and as far as the castle of Haverfordwest.§

In consequence of this inroad, Henry dispatched a letter to Llewelyn, complain-

* Welsh Chron. p. 279. † Holinshead, p. 204.

‡ The cantrevs of Rhos and Daugleddeu, or two swords.

§ Welsh Chron. p. 279.

ing of the late violation of the peace, of his neglect to appear at Oxford, and afterwards in London, agreeably to the different summonses which he had received; enjoining him, at the same time, to repair to Worcester on a certain day, to answer the charges which might be brought against him.* The prince of Wales did not pay obedience to this summons. Instead of obeying the mandate, he laid siege to the castle of Buellt, the property of Reginald de Bruce; who sending to the king intelligence of his danger, that prince came to his relief.† Llewelyn, seeing his forces inferior to the English, raised the siege. The king, then, on his return towards the marches, rebuilt the castle of Montgomery, in a situation which he thought impregnable; and as a check to the incursions of the Welsh.‡

A. D. 1221. 5th of Hen. III.

Amidst the anxieties which attended Llewelyn in his public situation, his pri-

* Rymer's Fœdera, p. 249.
† Rymer, p. 261. Welsh Chron. p. 280.
‡ Matth. Paris, p. 262.

vate peace was embittered by the turbulent spirit of his eldest son Gryffydd. That young prince had seized on the A. D. 1223. Cantrev of Meirionydd; and affected to hold it independently of his father's authority. Not of a temper tamely to bear such an insult, the prince of Wales commanded his to appear before him. Gryffydd refused to obey his commands. Resenting this undutiful demeanor, Llewelyn swore that he would take ample vengeance on his son, and on all his adherents, for the dishonour which they had thrown upon his character as a sovereign and a father; and with this design, he marched a considerable force into Meirionydd. Gryffydd, determining to abide the issue of arms, raised his followers, and met Llewelyn in the field. But during the action which ensued, an accommodation took place; and the son, yielding himself up to the mercy of his father, and imploring his forgiveness, was received into favour. But though Llewelyn, amidst the conflict of arms, indulging the tender feelings of a parent, had thought proper to

pardon his son, he did not entirely forget the offence; but with a just severity, deprived him of that district, which had been the cause of so flagrant a failure in his duty.*

Under the influence of chagrin, respecting a division of property, Rhys, the son of the late Gryffydd ap Rhys, joined the party of the earl of Pembroke; who, at this time, was in arms against the Welsh. To punish the defection of his vassal, though he had been lately sent to do homage in the court of England, Llewelyn took possession of the castle of Aberystwyth and all its dependencies. The Welsh chieftain, upon this, repaired to Henry, to complain of the injury, and to solicit his protection. The English king commanded Llewelyn to appear before him at Shrewsbury; and that prince obeying his order, the dispute was amicably settled.†

* Welsh Chron. p. 280. † Ibid. p. 281. 282.

In the absence of the earl of Pembroke, at this time in Ireland, the prince of Wales laid waste his territories, and took two of his castles; and then, with a savage spirit, cutting off the heads of the soldiers he had found in these fortresses, and placing garrisons in them out of his own army, he made good his retreat.* In order to chastise Llewelyn for this cruel transaction, Henry came with an army into the marches; but, without performing any military exploit, he soon returned into England; the earl of Chester having interceded in behalf of the Welsh prince, and having engaged for him that he should, by a certain day, make full restitution for the injuries he had committed. But, Llewelyn seeing the danger had passed over, was not very attentive to fulfil the engagement.†

* Chron. Thomas Wykes, p. 41. Chronica Walteri Hemingford, p. 564. Math. Westm. p. 86. Math Paris, p. 267.

† Chronica Walteri Hemingford, p. 564.

The earl of Pembroke, hearing of the ravages committed on his territories, landed with a strong body of forces at the city of St. David; and having recovered the castles of Caermarthen and Caerdigan, he retaliated on the Welsh garrisons the like cruel treatment which his own soldiers had lately received from Llewelyn.* To preserve his dominions in South Wales, which his enemies were destroying with terrible devastions, the Welsh prince sent his eldest son Gryffydd with an army of nine thousand men. Having advanced to Cydweli, intimation were given to the young prince, that the inhabitants intended to betray him to the enemy; upon which, in resentment of their perfidy, he laid the town and all the churches in ashes.† The earl of Pembroke then passed the Towi at Caermarthen and an action immediately ensued. It was fought

* Welsh Chron. p. 282. Matth. Paris says, that that earl marshal, in the course of this campaign, slew and took prisoners nine thousand men. P. 267.

† Welsh Chron. p. 282.

with great valour and with doubtful success; but in the evening each party retired from the field of battle, the river forming a line between the two armies. In this situation, they lay several days opposite to each other; at length the Welsh prince, in want of provisions, was obliged to break up his camp, and to return into North Wales.*

The earl of Pembroke proceeding to Cilgerran, began to erect a fortress; but receiving an order from Henry to come up directly to court, he left the work to be completed by his soldiers.† At the same time a summons was sent to Llewelyn, that he should appear before the king at Shrewsbury, attended by his wife, his son Gryffydd, and the chief of his nobility; the English prince expecting that by the force of his authority alone he should be able to terminate the

* Welsh Chron. p. 282.

† Welsh Chron. p. 282.

dispute.* A truce hower was only obtained; and each party, intending to renew hostilities, returned to their respective territories. The design of the earl of Pembroke, who had been joined by the forces of other English lords, of marching into Pembroke, was defeated by the rapid movements of Llewelyn; who dispatched his son Gryffydd to take possession of the pass at Carnwyllion; whilst he himself took post at Mabedryd. The openings into the country being thus obstructed the earl of Pembroke retired into England, and the prince of Wales into his own dominions.† The archbishop of York, on this occasion, excommunicated Llewelyn; and his dominions were laid under an interdict, until he had made satisfaction to king Henry; which if not performed within six months, his subjects were then to be absolved from their oaths of allegiance.‡

A. D. 1225.

Few incidents worthy of notice occur,

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 287.

† Welsh Chron. p. 283. ‡ Rymer, vol. I. p. 282.

for some years, in the history of these times. A trivial circumstance produced an event of some national importance.

A. D. 1228. 12th of Hen. 3.

The soldiers belonging to the castle of Montgomery, assisted by the natives of the country, attempted to open a road through an adjoining forest; a deep and extensive cover of fifteen miles in length, which had long afforded to the Welsh a secure retreat; and who issuing from thence, frequently pillaged and murdered the passengers. While the workmen were thus employed in cutting down the woods, they were suddenly attacked by a body of the Welsh; who, with great slaughter, obliged them to fly into the castle; which they invested, and laid siege to in a regular manner. In this extremity, the garrison sent into England for assistance; and Henry, attended by Hubert de Burgh, on whom the castle of Montgomery had been lately conferred, came to its relief with all possible dispatch. On the approach of the English king the Welsh raised the siege.* Having received

* Math. Paris, p. 295.

a reinforcement, Henry ventured to penetrate the recesses of the forest. With infinite difficulty he opened a passage for his army, by setting fire to the woods; and at length arrived at a solitary place called Cridia, of the Carmelite *order*, an abbey belonging to the white friars. Having been informed that this religious house had been used by the Welsh as a place of retreat, he laid it in ashes; and its situation being judged impregnable, Hubert de Burgh, with the king's consent, laid the foundation of a castle.*

In the middle of a deep forest, in an enemy's country, and surrounded by their flying parties, the situation of the English monarch was exceedingly perilous. Three months did Henry employ his whole army, and expose it to various dangers, in attempting to build an insignificant fortress, In the course of which time, the Welsh, watching every movement,

* Math. Paris, p. 295.

intercepted his convoys, and frequently cut in pieces his foraging parties. William de Bruce, whose ferocious manners we have often recited, having been sent into the country in search of provisions, was taken by Llewelyn, and thrown into prison. Provisions at length grew exceedingly scarce. To heighten his distress, Henry, too, had much cause to fear that treason had pervaded his camp; as several of the English lords in the interest of Llewelyn, had sent that prince intelligence of each occurrence, and had assisted him, to the utmost of their power, in obstructing and defeating the enterprise. In a situation so critical, the pride and resolution of Henry gave way to a sense of danger. He found it expedient to give over his design, and to conclude a peace with Llewelyn; on the condition, of levelling with the ground the castle he had lately finished; in the building of which he had wasted so much time, and treasure, as well as the blood of his subjects. The prince of Wales on his part,

agreed to pay Henry three thousand marks, towards defraying the charges of the war; * and also that the right owner of this territory should hold it as a fief of the crown of England. † He also made his appearance in the English camp, ro pay his respects to king Henry; but in no measure on the footing of a subordinate prince to do him homage. ‡ In this manner ended the campaign, inglorious, it is true, to the English monarch, yet reflecting little lustre on the military talents of Llewelyn; who surely might have obtained better terms from an enemy, surrounded with difficulties, and entangled like a lion in the toils.

To inure still more the Welsh to ideas of vassalage, Henry sent a safe conduct to his nephew to repair to his court; where David the second son of Llewelyn received a pension of forty pounds a A. D. 1229.

* Math. Paris. p. 295.

† Math. of Westminster, p. 94. Holinshead, p. 210.

Welsh Chron. p. 284.

year, until a better provision could be given him; having first done homage, and sworn to hold his reversionary dignity as a fief under the crown of England.* The little value of the bribe, compared with the object is a proof, that at this period, scarcely an idea of dishonour was annexed to vassalage.

Llewelyn had yet another blow to sustain, which was an injury of all others the most poignant. William de Bruce, taken prisoner at the affair of Montgomery, on paying a ransom† of three thousand marks, had been released from his captivity the following year. He soon after, by surprise, fell again into the same situation; and, as it is said, having been discovered in carrying on an amour with the Welsh princess, the sister of Henry and the wife of Llewelyn, he suffered an ignominious

* Rymer, p. 311.

† Welsh Chron. recites, that he offered the cantrev of Buellt, besides a large sum of money. Page 284.

death by the command of the injured husband.* Whether the crime for which he suffered was real, or only imputed to him as a pretext for vengeance; his fate, however, was justly due to the tenor of a life, deeply tinged by perfidy, and marked by the bloody traces of a spirit the most cruel and ferocious. A. D. 1230.

To account, it is probable, for the late transaction, three of the Welsh clergy were sent by Llewelyn, under a safe conduct into England. The prince of Wales, himself, received a summons to appear before the king at Shrewsbury;† who seemed to resent the murder of the English lord, or the stroke of justice which had lately taken place. Instead of obeying this order, Llewelyn led an army into the

* Matth. Westm. p. 97, says, with other English writers, that he was put to death without reason. Henry de Knyghton de Event Angl. p. 2431. Chron. Walteri Hemingford, p. 472. Annales Waverleiensis, p. 193. Pol. Virgil, p. 298. Matth. Paris, p. 307.

† Matth. Paris, p. 310. Holinshead, p. 213.

marches; and, still pursuing his revenge, laid waste the territory lately belonging to Bruce;* and then, with the same fury continuing his progress, no place scarcely upon the English Borders was left free from his devastations.†

To check these ravages, Henry came with great celerity into the confines of Wales. On the king's approach, Llewelyn retired to the mountains. Finding his presence no longer necessary, the English prince left Hubert de Burgh, with a detachment of his army, to preserve the peace of the Borders.‡ A different body of the Welsh, hearing that the king had retired, made an incursion into the land adjoining to the castle of Montgomery. On the return of this party, the English,

* He was lord of Brecknock in South Wales, and of Pembre in Sussex. See Edward Lhuyd's MSS, in collection of Sir John Seabright.

† Rymer, vol. I. p. 317. Matth. Paris, p. 310.

‡ Matth. Paris, p. 310.

having taken possession of a post which cut off their retreat, suddenly attacked the Welsh; and putting to the sword the greater part of their numbers, the remainder were brought into the castle as prisoners. The captives were instantly beheaded at the command of Hubert de Burgh the justiciary; and the heads of these unfortunate men were sent as a present to king Henry.* The Welsh already began to taste the bitter fruits which they themselves had produced, by a voluntary surrender of their rights; and, indeed, by tamely submitting to be considered as the vassals of a foreign prince, they gave some colour of justice to the cruel spirit of their enemies. A. D. 1231. 15th of Hen. III.

It was not in the nature of the times to enter into subtle distinctions, or into a cool discussion of rights, which the timidity or weakness of the Welsh princes had often brought into controversy; it was more suited to the feelings of men, warm,

Matth. Paris, p. 310. Polidore Virgil, p. 300.

irascible, and vindictive, to determine their merits, or to punish their infringement, by the more prompt decision of arms.

Llewelyn, having heard of the outrage lately commited on his subjects, again laid waste the English Borders. Besides other acts of forcity, which in this incursion marked his progress, some ladies of distinction, venerable for their years, and virgins of a tender age, having taken sanctuary in one of the churches which was set on fire, perished in the flames, the indiscriminate victims of his fury.* In the general consternation Hubert de Brugh fled into England. The prince of Wales, bearing down all opposition, took by assault the castle of Montgomery, the scene of the late transaction; and, making himself master of the different fortresses of Radnor, Brecknock,† and Rhaiadrgwy, he invested Caer Lleon. After sustain-

* Matth. Paris, p. 310.

† *Aberhonddu.*

ing considerable loss in attempting in vain to reduce the castle, that city was taken; and, with the church, reduced to ashes. The same fate attended the castles of Neath * and Cydweli. And, with a barbarity disgraceful to Llewelyn, the soldiers who had defended these fortresses, all perished in the flames.†

This outrage, or act of retaliative justice, being reported to king Henry, he applied to the Pope for his spiritual aid; and that Pontiff, ever fond of weaving his own interests into the concerns of temporal princes, excommunicated Llewelyn, and all his adherents.‡ Henry, also, commanded his vassals in Ireland, to co-operate with his arms in the enterprise which he had formed against Wales; offering them at the same time the alluring reward of possessing such estates as they

* In Glamorganshire.

† Annale Margam, p. 18. Welsh Chron. p, 287.

‡ Math. Paris, p. 310.

might by their swords obtain from the A. D. 1231. Welsh.* He convened at Oxford, an assembly of his military tenants, and the principal clergy in his kingdom; and drawing from thence an army of considerable force, he marched to Hereford.†

The army of Llewelyn was, at this time, encamped in a meadow, at a little distance from the castle of Montgomery, lately recovered by the English; in a part of which field was a morass. Near to this place was an abbey called Cymer, of the *Cistercian order*. A friar of this house, was directed by the Welsh prince, to convey, if possible, false intelligence to the garrison. The soldiers in the castle, seeing the friar passing with that design under the walls, entered into conversation with him, and seemed desirous of being informed of Llewelyn's situation. He told them that the prince of Wales lay encamped in a certain meadow at no

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 318.

† Math. Paris, p. 311.

great distance, attended only by a small body of men, waiting for a reinforcement; and that he had broken down a bridge, which kept the communication open, for fear of a sudden attack. They inquired then if a body of horse could safely pass the morass, the bridge being demolished; he told them, that they might not only pass with security, but might also defeat their enemies, or put them to flight, with an inconsiderable force. Being thus informed, a party of the garrison sallied out on horseback. Their approach being perceived, the Welsh, seemingly with great precipitation, retreated into a wood. This apparent flight animated the English to pursue them with eagerness; and deceived by their intelligence, the advanced party plunged deep into the morass; many of which were, in an instant, either suffocated or drowned. The Welsh, at this moment, perceiving their disorder, rushed out of the wood, and with their spears easily put to death the remainder; who, encumbered with their horses and armour,

and entangled in the morass, were incapable of making any defence.* This disaster accelerated the approach of the English army; and as it passed by the abbey, king Henry, in resentment of the friar's treachery, set fire to the grange or farm; and proceeding to do the same by the monastery itself, the abbot saved it from destruction, by paying as a ransom three hundred marks. Having no other employment for his army, he rebuilt with
A. D. 1231. stone the castle of Matilda; which had in former wars been demolished by the Welsh.† In this manner ended a campaign, which, considering the mighty engines employed, seemed to menace this ancient people with inevitable ruin.

In the mean time, Llewelyn thought proper to consent to a short truce; ‡ on

* Math. Paris, p. 311.

† Camden's Brit. Gibson's edit. p. 585, built by Matilda wife to William de Bruce lord of Brecknock. Math. Paris, p. 311.

‡ Rymer, vol. I. p. 319. Brady's Hist. Eng. p. 553.

terms of reciprocal advantage, and, in some measure, on the footing of independent states.

Some infractions of the peace having been made on the part of the English, Llewelyn sent complaints to king Henry, that no satisfaction had been given him, though he himself had been willing to make reparation for any injury done by his subjects. Henry, in return, acquainted the Welsh prince, that his own avocations at present, did not allow him to attend to his complaints; but that he would in a season of more leisure come into the marches, and there render him full restitution for any injuries which he might have sustained.* A conference having been agreed on by the two princes, Llewelyn, on a safe conduct, came to Shrewsbury.† At this meeting, the commissioners, appointed by either party, agreed to the following stipulations, which were immediately ratified by Henry. that a mutual A. D. 1233. 17th of Hen. III.

* Rymer, p. 320. † Ibid. p. 325.

restitution should take place of such estates which had been obtained in the course of the war; That the commissioners should fix the value of the damage, and determine by whom the reparation was to be made: That if any new matter of complant should arise during the truce, the point in dispute should be finally decided by the commissioners; each prince engaging to abide by their award. In this treaty, Llewelyn was obliged to renew his homage, and to give security for preserving the peace of the English realm.*

A. D. 1233. The violent conduct of Henry and his ministers had at length driven many of the English barons into open revolt. Of the most considerable note were the lord Pembroke earl mareschal, Gilbert Basset and his brothers, Richard Siward, and Walter de Clifford. These lords, withdrawing from the danger which threatened them, retired into Wales; and entered

* Rymer, p. 327.

into a firm league with Llewelyn; engaging each other, by the most solemn ties, not to form any treaty, or conclude a peace, but with the common consent of the confederacy.* Alarmed at this revolt, rendered formidable by an union with the Welsh prince, Henry convened his military tenants to meet him at Gloucester.†

In the mean time, the confederates laid desolate the marches, conveying away the cattle and other provisions.‡ They likewise received an accession of strength on being joined by Hubert de Burgh § the justiciary of England; who, having been persecuted to the utmost peril of his life, had escaped out of prison, and fled into Wales.|| Henry advanced into the ene-

* Matth. Paris, p. 326. Polidore Virgil. p. 301.
† Ibid. p. 326. ‡ Ibid. p. 328.
§ Among other frivolous crimes objected against this minister, he was accused of purloining from the royal treasury a gem, which had the virtue of rendering the wearer invulnerable, and of sending this valuable curiosity to the prince of Wales. Math. Paris, p. 259.
|| Math. Paris, p. 328.

mies teritories, as far as Hereford; but finding that country entirely laid waste, and fearing lest his army might perish for want of necessary sustenance, he made good his retreat, and remained some days in the castle of Grosmont. The English army, which laid encamped in the open field was attacked in the night by the earl mareschal; who finding no discipline in the camp, easily surprised it; taking, besides other plunder, five hundred horses, and obliging the confused and terrified soldiers to fly with precipitation within the walls of that castle. He had likewise the good fortune to take possession of the money, provisions, carriages, and other furniture belonging to the king's army. Pembroke, in this critical moment, did not pursue his success. He gave an exalted proof of moderation and duty. Out of respect to his sovereign, confined in the castle, he offered no further hostilities; but retired before break of day to a secure situation, enriched with the spoils of the English camp.

Many of Henry's courtiers, having lost their military equipments, left the army on this disaster, and returned into England. The king himself, amazed, ashamed, and confounded at this sudden and disgraceful blow, having first reinforced with foreign soldiers all his castles upon the English confine, retreated to Gloucester; in which city he passed the Christmas holidays, in hopes that his A. D. 1233. 17th of Hen. III. presence upon the Borders might be a means of keeping the malecontents in awe.*

The active spirit of the earl mareschal, no longer restrained by Henry's presence, formed the design of laying siege to Monmouth. Baldwyn de Guisnes, a knight of great valour, and a native of Flanders, was then in the town; having been left by Henry with a strong body of foreign troops † to protect the marches. Seeing the earl of Pembroke deeply en-

* Matth. Paris, p. 328. Polidore Virgil, p. 301

† From Flanders and Poictou.

gaged in reconnoitering the walls, attended only by one hundred knights, he sallied out of the castle at the head of a considerable part of the garrison. Pembroke had time to retire; but his high courage disdained to avoid the danger. A terrible conflict ensued; and though the earl mareschal exhibited extraordinary proofs of valour and prowess, yet such was the superior number of the enemy, that he was very near being carried off prisoner; if at that instant, Baldwyn de Guisnes had not himself received a wound; which being deemed mortal, the attention of his troops was diverted to the safety of their general, and gave an opportunity to the confederate army to come to the relief of the mareschal.* Nothing decisive taking place, the earl of Pembroke invested Caermarthen; but the town being gallantly defended, he laid three months before it, being incapable of making any impression; and at length, a supply of provisions, and a reinforcement, being

* Math. Paris, p. 329.

thrown into the place by sea, he was obliged to raise the siege.*

To divert the enemy's attention, during these operations, Llewelyn made an inroad into the country of Brecknock, destroying all the towns and fortresses belonging to that territory; he then invested the castle of that name, and lay before it a month; but all his efforts proving fruitless, he raised the siege; and, setting fire to the town, pursued his route into the marches. In the course of which, conflagration and ruin still marking his progress, he burned the town of Clun, demolished Redde castle in Powys, and laid Oswestry in ashes.† It seems, as if a treaty of peace had been in agitation during the late transactions; as Henry, in a letter to Llewelyn, complained that his commissioners, agreeably to appointment, had repaired to Colewent, but had not there met the

* Welsh Chron. p. 289.

† Ibid. p. 288.

deputies out of Wales. In answer to which, Llewelyn informed the English king, that his commissioners had been prevented from coming to that place, by the floods and by other impediments; declaring in the mean time that he himself would preserve the peace of the Borders, and requiring that Henry on his part should perform the same.* It is some-
A. D. 1233. what extraordinary, that a negotiation of so mild a nature should be carried on amidst the shock of arms, and under the irritation of deep and reiterated injuries.

To oppose a confederacy, rising into importance by the daily accession of the English nobility, John lord of Monmouth, distinguished for his valour and military talents, was appointed warden of the marches. That he might open the cam-
A. D. 1234. paign with credit to his arms, he entered the confines of Wales with a considerable body of foreigners; in hopes that by a sudden and vigorous impression

* Rymer, vol. I. p. 328, 329.

he might surprise the earl mareschal; or that, by taking him off, he might strike at the root of the revolt. He so directed his operations, as to be enabled, as he thought, to assail his enemies during the silence and darkness of the night. The spies of the earl of Pembroke, having given him intelligence, that the royal army was on its march to surprise him, that general laid an ambuscade to counteract the design; by posting his troops under the cover of a wood, adjoining to a road which the enemy were obliged to pass. In this situation he waited their approach. The English troops under Monmouth, marching, as they thought, in security, and little suspecting a surprise, were beset on a sudden by a part of the earl's forces; who, rushing out of their cover, easily put their enemies to flight, confounded by the darkness of the night, and the loud shouts of their assailants. Numbers were slain on the field; and many flying into the wood, were cut in pieces by the troops which had been stationed there by the mareschal to in-

tercept the fugitives. John lord of Monmouth their general, with a few of his attendants, saved themselves by a precipitate flight.* Pursuing his success, the earl mareschal made severe reprisals on the estates of the king's foreign counsellors which lay upon the Borders; and with keener animosity, laid waste the lordships which were the property of the lord of Monmouth; destroying several of his houses and villages.†

Flushed with this success, Llewelyn and the earl mareschal, having united their forces a few months after, made another inroad into the English marches; and having rendered all that country a scene of devastation, they concluded their fiery career by laying part of the town of Shrewsbury in ashes.‡

During the time that the confederates were masters of the field, and had spread

* Polidore Virgil, p. 301. Matth. Paris, p. 332.
† Ibid. ‡ Matth. p. 832.

horror and conflagration through the Borders of England, Henry remained at Gloucester, timid and inactive; as though he had been an indifferent spectator of the scene.* The prelates, on this occasion, and the few English lords who still preserved their allegiance, urged Henry to accommodate the dispute with the malecontent barons. Instead of listening to this salutary advice, that prince, equally vehement and weak, removed his court to Winchester; declaring that he would make no peace with the earl mareschal, unless he came with an halter about his neck, and on his knees before the throne, should acknowledge himself to be a traitor. Pembroke rejected the proposal with disdain.†

A. D. 1234. 18th of Hen. III.

Henry's ministers, in despair of subduing that lord by any other means than by treachery, excited his vassals in Ireland to revolt; under the pretence that all his estates were forfeited to the crown.

* Matth. Paris. p. 332. † Ibid.

Informed of the machinations of his enemies, the earl of Pembroke passed over into that kingdom, attended only by fifteen knights. In this country, by the perfidy of one of his own vassals, he was taken prisoner in an action after having maintained a long and unequal fight, and having given extraordinary proofs of his valour; his horse being hamstrung, and he himself dismouted and wounded in the back. This gallant warrior languished in confinement fourteen days, and at last died by the treachery of an Irish surgeon.*

A. D. 1234. The violence in the English administration had risen to a crisis. The prelates of the realm, joined by the temporal lords being assembled in parliament at Westminster,† called loudly upon the king to redress their grievances, and to settle the distracted state of the kingdom.‡ Ne-

* Matth. Paris, p. 333, 335, 340.

† Ad. Colloquium ap Westmon.

‡ Math. Paris, p. 333. Brady's Hist. England, vol. I. p. 559.

cessity obliging him to listen to the voice of his people, Henry dismissed his foreign ministers; and dispatched the prelates of Chester, Rochester, and Canterbury, into Wales; to treat with Llewelyn, and the English barons in confederacy with him;* the king himself repairing to Gloucester, to be ready to forward their negotiation. The prince of Wales was exceedingly averse to enter into terms of accommodation. To induce that prince to comply with their wishes, the prelates ventured to mingle threats with their other pesuasions; by informing him, that if he refused their offers of peace he would certainly draw upon his head the vengeance of the church. To this menace, Llewelyn replied, that he was more influenced by the piety of king Henry and by the alms which he gave, than by the terror of his arms though aided by the whole power of his clergy. He, at length, consented, that a peace should be settled upon the basis of integrity and justice;

* Brady's Hist. England, vol. I. p. 335.

and, as an essential article of the treaty, he provided, that all the English barons, who were confederate with him in the war, should be taken into Henry's favour, and be re-established in their honours and estates. These conditions, however humiliating, were ratified by the English king; who sent letter to the malecontent lords to repair to him at Gloucester; where they received the kiss of peace from Henry as a pledge of his grace, and were likewise reinstated in their rights and inheritances.* At the same time, it is probable, to adjust some particulars left unfinished in this treaty, a safe conduct was sent to the deputies of Llewelyn to come into England.† With
A. D. 1234. the justice which is due to historical truth, we have frequently censured the character of Llewelyn; it is now with pleasure that we contemplate a conduct which was just and manly, liberal

* Welsh Chron. p. 292. Polidore Virgil, p. 302. Matth. Paris, p. 340.

† Rymer's Fœdera, p. 332.

and wise; and which, at the same time that it gave to his country unusual importance, placed him in the rank of the most distinguished of its princes.

The pleasure which the late event must have afforded Llewelyn, no doubt, dilated his heart, and softened his feelings in favour of his eldest son Gryffydd; whom, at this time, after six years confinement, he released out of prison.* We are not acquainted with the nature of the offence, by which Gryffydd had again incurred his father's displeasure. But there was a rigour interwoven into the destiny of this gallant prince, which discoloured the whole tenor of his life, and has marked him the child of adversity.† A. D. 1234.

* Welsh Chron. p. 292.

† At this period (A. D. 1236) died Madoc ap Gryffydd Maelor, lord of the Lower Powys, or Powys Vadoc; he was buried in the abbey of Llan Egwestl, or the Vale of Crucis, near Llangollen in Denbighshire, which he himself had erected; and left a son named Gryffydd to succeed to his territories, Welsh Chron. p. 293.

Llewelyn having sent complaints to the English king, that the earl of Pembroke had seized a castle belonging to Morgan of Caer Lleon, and had taken his property and wasted his territories; that prince expressed his disapprobation of the injury which had been done to the welsh chieftain, and appointed imperial persons to arbitrate in the dispute. He had already cited the earl mareschal to appear before his commissioners; and he also summoned Welsh the prince to attend, either in person or by his deputies.* In consequence of which, a truce for one year longer took place at Tewksbury, on the following conditions; that full restitution should be made to Morgan of Caer Lleon for the injuries which he had received since the commencement of the late peace; that the subjects of both kingdoms should retain all their rights and estates of which they were then in possession; that on sufficient proof of any injury having been sustained, restitution should be made to

* Rymer's Fœdera, p. 353.

either party, the damage not being prior to the truce; that neither of the princes should receive into his protection the subjects belonging to the other; and that no new castle should be erected, or any old one repaired in the marches.* In consequence of this, a safe conduct was sent by the king to Llewelyn's commissioners to repair to Shrewsbury, and there to swear to the conditions of the truce; and also to name arbitrators, who were to act on the part of the Welsh prince with the English commissioners; with whom rested the final decision.†

A. D. 1236. 20th of Hen. III.

This year died Joan the wife of prince Llewelyn; and, agreeably to her own desire, was buried upon the sea-shore at Llanvaes in Anglesey. To do honour to her brother the king of England, or as a tender memorial of regard, Llewelyn erected over the grave of this princess

* Brady's Hist. Eng. p. 564. Rymer's Fœdera. p. 368.

† Rymer's Fœdera, p. 369.

a monastery of bare-footed friars; a testimony of respect to her memory, which renders at least doubtful the criminal part of her conduct; and may, in some degree, A. D. 1237. take away the stain which history has cast upon her fame.*

The tranquillity of the times afforded leisure to Llewelyn, having with so much dignity settled his foreign concerns, to pay some attention to the interior government of his own kingdom, by fixing before his death the order of succession. He convened, for this purpose, all the chieftains in Wales to meet him at Strata-Florida;† where they renewed their oaths of allegiance, and likewise did homage to David, his son by the princess of England, in preference to his eldest brother Gryffydd.‡ So alive was Henry to the dependency of Wales, that he even

* Welsh Chron. p. 293. See note in Hist. of Gwedir Family, p. 23.

† *Ystrad Fflur.*

‡ Welsh Chron. p. 297. British Ant. Rev. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

regarded with a jealous eye the late homages, which had been paid to the young prince his nephew; and in consequence he sent him a summons to repair, under a safe conduct, to Worcester. About the same time, the peace was continued for a year longer on principles of reciprocal justice.* A. D. 1237.

Llewelyn's glory, which has appeared with so bright a lustre, resembles the last efforts af the vital spirit; which acquiring force in the moment of its extinction, and exerting a transient vigour, is exhausted on a sudden, and sinks into dissolution. Worn out with cares and incessant action, Llewelyn was now grown old, infirm, and paralytic.† In this melancholy close, hastened no doubt by his late violent exertions, he seems to have lost the native vigour of his mind; by giving up, in a moment of weakness, the great object for which, during a long

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 372, 373.
† Math. Paris, p. 369.

reign, he had contended with so much valour and success. The desire of repose, with the eager wish of establishing his favovrite son David in the succession, by thus insuring the protection of the English king, were perhaps the motives which
A. D. 1237. 21st of Hen. III. influenced his conduct. Whatever his motives were, he gave notice to Henry, that being in years, and desirous of peace, he was willing to put himself under his protection, and to hold his dominions in future as a fief of the English crown; offering at the same time, that whenever the necessities of England should call for assistance, he would be ready to furnish troops, and to give other aids, agreeably to the duties of a vassal.*

The bishops of Chester and Hereford were employed, on the part of Henry, in the negotiation of this important concern.† So little of public virtue remained

* Welsh Chron. p. 297.

† Brady's Hist. England, p. 567. Math. Paris, p. 369.

in the country, that many of the Welsh nobility were desirous of an union with England, although the independency of their nation sunk in the scale. Some nobler spirits rejected the idea with disdain; not inclined to gratify their sovereign's inclination, or to indulge his infirmities, at the expence of the freedom of their country.*

The archdeacon of St. Asaph, on the same concern, was employed to negotiate the interests of the prince of Wales. When he arrived at the English court, it appeared, that he was not possessed of instructions or power sufficient to bring to a conclusion so important a business. Upon this occasion, Henry dispatched letters to the lords of the marches, highly complaining of the homages which Llewelyn had caused his son David to receive; and commanding their attendance in Oxford, the truce with Wales being near-

* Welsh Chron. p. 298. Math. Paris, p. 369. Math. Westm. p. 110.

ly expired. The king likewise sent a letter to the Welsh prince, expressive of resentment for his late conduct in regard to his son; and acquainting him, that if he was desirous of a lasting peace, he should send deputies to meet the council at Oxford; prohibiting him, moreover, under the penalty of forfeiture, from suffering his son to receive any more homage, until he had first performed that necessary duty to himself, as his sovereign. So highly alarmed was Henry upon this point, that he wrote to the young prince his nephew, not to presume to receive any more homage until he himself had paid that duty. The negociation for peace extended no farther than to a continuation of the truce for another year, which was afterwards ratified by Llewelyn.*

A. D. 1238.

Taking advantage of his father's infirmities, or rendered tyrannical by his favour, David seized on a great part of

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. I. p. 379, 380.

the territories belonging to Gryffydd his brother; leaving him only in possession of the cantref of Lleyn in the county of Caernarvon. This act of rapacity raised dissensions in the country; as Gryffydd possessed many qualities, which, among a people like the Welsh, were held in high estimation; being brave in war, tall and comely in his person, and, as the eldest son of Llewelyn, was heir apparent to the crown.*

To allay the ferment which was produced by this division of interests, the bishop of Bangor proposed a conference between the two princes. In consequence of this mediation, Gryffydd began his journey, with the design of giving his brother the meeting; but though he travelled in the company of that prelate, and under the sanction of his character, he was arrested on the road by David; who confined him in the castle of Cricieth,

* British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 29.

a fortress situated on the verge of the sea in Caernarvonshire.*

The treatment of this popular prince excited the greatest commotion. The adherents of his person and family rose up in arms; resenting the many injuries which had been done by David to his brother, whom they considered as the rightful heir to the crown; and whose spirit, manners and interests were congenial with those of his country. Another party of the Welsh espousing the cause of David, a civil war spread through the country; and in which, native ferocity mingling in the contest and heightening its fury, North Wales, for some time, was deluged with the blood of her own citizens.†

A. D. 1240. 24th of Hen. III.

In this state of affairs, the evening of his days being imbittered by domestic

* Welsh Chron. p. 298. Math. Paris, p. 470.
† Math. Westm. p. 118. Polidore Virgil, p. 305, Holinshead, p. 226. Math. Paris, p. 479.

and public calamity, died Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, after a reign of fifty-six years. He left two children by Tangwystl his first wife, Gryffydd, and a daughter called Glwadys, married to Sir Ralph Mortimer; * by his second wife Joan, the princess of England, he had David, who succeeded to his father's dominions.† The remains of this prince were interred, with much honour to his memory, in the Abbey of Conway.‡

A. D. 1240.

In taking a survey of the late period, so full of the vicissitudes of fortune, Llewelyn ap Iorwerth appears upon the stage a distinguished character. Possessed of many qualities which are requisite for a warrior, and to form the great prince; we may also discern him, through

* Memoir of Gwedir Family, p. 24, respecting Gryffydd.

† Brit. Ant. revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 27, in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Lloyd, of Caerwys, Flintshire.

‡ Welsh Chron. p. 298.

the glimmering of the times, displaying many of the softer traits of humanity; some of those finer springs which constitute in private life, what ever is just, tender, and amiable. But in the characters of men, the most eminent for their talents and their virtues, we shall still meet with shades of human infirmity. The defects of Llewelyn, striking as they were, may be considered as the vices of the age in which he lived, more justly than his own. A few acts of ferocity, with too frequent a violation of treaties, and, at times, a want of firmness in his conduct, may in some degree injure his fame and throw a shade upon his virtues, but cannot deprive him of that solid glory, which is due to a patriot prince; and which he obtained from a grateful people, for asserting the rights of his injured country, through a long life employed in its defence. His talents and his virtues, with the fortunate direction of both, have given to this prince the illustrious title of Llewelyn the *Great*.

DAVID AP LLEWELYN.

Several causes conspired to promote the succession of David to the throne of North Wales, in preference to Gryffydd his eldest brother. The partiality of Llewelyn to this favourite son, had secured the allegiance of the Welsh nobility; the English king, too, as the uncle of David, would naturally support his cause, rather than that of his brother; a prince of a brave and active disposition, and popular in the country; but what gave the decisive turn in his favour was, that Gryffydd, the rival of his crown, was a prisoner at his mercy, closely confined in a solitary fortress. A. D. 1240.

Within a month after his accession, David, attended by all the chieftains in Wales, waited on the king at Gloucester; where having done homage, a peace was concluded on the following conditions: That David should render his right to the independency of North Wales, as

well as to such territories which had been claimed by several of Henry's vassals, excepting those of Montalto or Mould; and which he was at present to retain agreeably to what had been settled between him and the seneschal of Chester. In order to adjust all matters in dispute which in future might arise, arbitrators on both sides were to be appointed; over whom the Pope's legate, as long as he resided in England, was to preside; and who was likewise to have the power of punishing by ecclesiastical censures, any infraction of the peace. Before David, or any of his vassals, could be liable to such censures, they had a right to justify themselves before the legate, in any secure place upon the Borders; and to which place they were bound to appear whenever they were cited, or to be deemed contumacious if they neglected the summons, unless they shewed a sufficient reason for such a neglect. If the legatine function should cease, then the same power of coercion by ecclesiastical censure, should be vested in the archbishops of

Canterbury successively. The peace was concluded upon these terms, and a general remission also took place of offences, which either party at any time had committed.*

Soon after this treaty, David received a summons to appear before the king in London, attended by the Welsh commissioners; in order to proceed before the legate in the business of arbitration.† The Welsh prince, in no haste to have the arbitration proceed, or to name the referees, slighted the summons. He soon after received another order from Henry, to appear himself at Shrewsbury, or to send his deputies.‡ To this summons he thought proper to pay obedience; and he sent commissioners according- A. D. 1241.
ly to that place, where new arbitrators

* Rymer, p. 389, 390. Brady, vol. I. p. 575.

† Rymer, vol. I. p. 391.

‡ Brady, vol. I. p. 578, says Worcester.

were appointed, and a certain time fixed, when their decision was to take place.*

The submission of David was only to gain time. He had conceived the design of shaking off his dependence on the crown of England. For he had lately formed an alliance with the brothers of Gryffydd ap Madoc, lord of the Lower Powys; having seduced those chieftains from their allegiance, as well as others of the Welsh tenants belonging to the English crown. The first act of his revolt, was to lay waste the territories of Sir Ralph Mortimer, and others of Henry's feudatories; he also retained in his own hands the estates of Hugh Vaughan and his nephews, contrary to the award of a late arbitration; and he likewise seized a vessel, on its voyage to Chester, loaded with wheat and other provisions. Henry, upon these outrages sent to the prince of Wales a peremptory letter,

* Rymer, p. 392. Brady, vol. I. p. 579.

enumerating the grievances above related, and enjoining him to persuade the revolted chieftains to return to their duty; and also that he should make restitution for all the injuries, which the king's subjects had received during the infringement of the peace.*

Influenced by motives of pity and affection, the bishop of Bangor interested himself in the safety of Gryffydd, whom his brother David still kept in confinement. He was also assisted in his generous design, by Ralph lord Mortimer of Wigmore, who had married Glwadys the sister of the captive prince.† With much earnest solicitation, they requested that he might be released out of prison; but all in vain; David did not dare to let loose among the people, a spirit like his brother's, popular and brave, and full of resentment for former injuries. The bis-

* Rymer, p. 395.

† British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 27.

A. D. 1241. 25th of Hen. III. hop of Bangor, on his refusal, excommunicated David, and withdrew into England. Repairing to the English king, he laid before him, the barbarity and injustice of his nephew's conduct; and earnestly implored that monarch to exert his authority, that this unfortunate prince might be restored to his liberty.* He likewise sent his complaints to Rome, and had interest sufficient with the Pope to obtain a confirmation of the late sentence, and also to lay the dominions of the Prince of Wales under an interdict.†

The party was at this time increased which had been formed in favour of Gryffydd, who was become still more dear to the people; the injuries he had received, and his wretched situation, having rendered him an object of their pity. His wife Sina, a woman of spirit and address, confederate with the Bishop of Bangor, and

* Math. Paris, p. 506.

† Welsh Chron. p. 300. Brady, vol. I. p. 578.

with many of the Welsh nobility, entered into a treaty with Henry, in hopes of interesting that Prince in the cause of her unfortunate husband.* The negociation was supported with such powerful persuasions, that Henry, inclining to their interest, sent an order to David to release his brother out of captivity. This order was attended by the following admonition: that by pursuing such a conduct, he would recover the honour of his character, and that it also would be the means of his receiving absolution from the Pope.* This mandate the Welsh Prince peremptorily refused to obey, alledging, in his excuse, that if Gryffydd was set at liberty, such was his spirit, and the strength of his party, that he would raise the greatest commotions throughout Wales.† The King, resenting his nephew's disobedience, commanded his military tenants to meet him at Gloucester; and from thence he pro-

* Math. Paris, p. 506. Brady, p. 578.

† Ibid. Welsh Chron. p. 300.

ceeded with a large army to Shrewsbury.* He had also been previously encouraged to this undertaking, under assurances of aid, by Gryffydd ap Madoc, the Lord of the Lower Powys. During the King's residence at Shrewsbury, which was fifteen days, many Welsh and English Lords, his vassals, gave him the meeting; all of them friendly to Gryffydd; and who came, in concert with his wife, to support the negociation.†

With a tenderness and energy of spirit, which marked a fine and just sensibility, that lady stipulated with the king for the enlargement of her husband, on the following terms; that Gryffydd should pay to the king six hundred marks, on

* Math. Paris, p. 506.

† Ralph Lord Mortimer of Wigmore, Walter Clifford, Roger de Mont Alto steward of Chester, Maelgon ap Maelgon, Meredydd ap Rotpert lord of Cydewen, Gryffydd ap Madoc lord of Bromfield, Howel and Meredydd the sons of Cynan ap Owen Gwynedd, and Gryffydd the son of Gwenwynwyn lord of Powys. Welsh Chron. p. 301.

condition that he caused Gryffydd and Owen his son to be delivered out of prison; and that they should stand to the judgment of the king's court, whether by law they ought to have been imprisoned. That Gryffydd and his heirs should also stand to the judgment of the king's court, concerning that portion of the inheritance of Llewelyn his father, which of right appertained unto him: the said Sina undertaking for Gryffydd and his heirs, that they should pay yearly for that territory, the sum of three hundred marks; whereof the one third part should be paid in money, the second in cattle, and the third in horses, by the estimation of impartial men; and that the same shonld be paid at Michaelmas and Easter, by even portions, into the hands of the sheriff of the county of Salop. Sina further undertook, for Gryffydd and his heirs, that they should observe the peace with David, and suffer him quietly to enjoy such portions of his father's inheritance as to him should be found to be due. She also undertook, for her husband and his heirs,

that in case any Welshman should hereafter rebel against the King, they, at their own charges, should compel the offender to make satisfaction.* For the performance of these conditions, she engaged to deliver up as pledges to the King, David and Roderic her sons; but with this restriction, that if either Gryffydd or Owen should happen to die before his delivery out of prison, it should be lawful for Sina to have one of her sons released, the other remaining with the King as an hostage. She likewise swore upon the holy Evangelists, that Gryffydd and his heirs should punctually perform all these premises; and she further undertook, that Gryffydd, on his delivery out of prison, should take the same oath. Sina, in the name of her husband, submitted herself, as to the observance of the premises, to the jurisdiction of the reverend fathers the bishops of Hereford and Litchfield; to the end that those bishops, or either of them, at

* Brady, vol. I. p. 579. Math. Paris, 550.

the King's request, should compel Gryffydd and his heirs to observe these conditions, on pain of excommunication on their persons, and interdiction on their land; and lastly, that her husband should deliver this instrument in writing to the King, in the form aforesaid. To this compact both parties set their seals: Gryffydd and Sina to that part which remained with the King, and the King to that part which remained with Sina. In ratification of this treaty, the lords before-mentioned swore fealty to the King, and pledged themselves for the punctual performance of its several articles.*

A deep cloud at this period hung over David, and menaced his safety. The King of England, advancing towards Chester, at the head of a large army, had entered the frontiers of his country;† many of

* Appendix, No. I. Math. Paris, p. 551. Welsh Chr. p. 303. Brady, vol. I. p. 579.

† The approaches into Wales, this summer, had been rendered very easy by a long drought, which, having continued four months, had dried up the marshes.

the Welsh nobility were in confederacy against him, in favour of his rival and the object of his cruelty; but the circumstance above all others most likely to excite his terror was the censure of the church, which hanging over his head, like a sword suspended in the air, left him only a precarious possession of his throne.* David saw the storm as it gathered round him; and his resolution failing, he sent an offer to Henry to release his brother out of prison; provided that he himself might be taken into favour, under all the security which hostages, and other ties, could give for his future fidelity.† Henry agreed to grant his nephew pardon and peace, upon the terms he himself had offered, but to which he added the following conditions: that David should deliver up his brother Gryffydd and his son Owen to the King: that he should stand to the judgment of the King's court, whether Gryffydd ought to be imprisoned; and also for the portion of his father's inheritance, which he claim-

* Math. Paris, p. 506. † Ibid.

ed according to the custom of Wales, and should hold that land of the King in capite: that he should deliver up to Roger de Mont Alto, steward of Chester, his land in the lordship of Mould, with all its appurtenances: that he should restore to the barons all such land, lordships, and castles, which had been taken from them since the commencement of the wars between King John and his father Llewelyn: that he should defray all the charges of Henry in the last expedition: that he should make satisfaction for all the injuries done by him, or his subjects, to the King or his people: that he should restore unto him all the homages which King John had received, or ought to have received, especially from the noblemen of Wales: that the lordships of Ellesmere and Englefield should be conveyed to the King for ever: that he should not receive any of the King's subjects within the dominions of Wales, who were outlawed or banished: and lastly, under the obligation of giving hostages, and the penalty of forfeiture, that he should enter into the most solemn

engagements, that he would never recede from Henry's service; that he would observe all his commands; and would stand to the law in his courts.*

A. D. 1241. As a pledge of his sincerity, that he really intended to preserve the peace according to this treaty, the Welsh Prince consented that the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Ely, Hereford, and Coventry, should be arbitrators between him and the King; and that he himself should be liable to their ecclesiastical censures, if, on his part, any of the articles were violated.†

A few months after the peace was concluded, David repaired to the English

* This treaty was signed, on the part of David, by the Bishops of St. Asaph and Bangor, at Alnet, on the river Elwy, near St. Asaph. Welsh Chron. p. 306. Math. Paris, p. 552. Brady, vol. I. p. 580. Rymer, p. 396, 397, 398.

† Welsh Chron. p. 306. Brady, p. 580. Math. Paris, p. 552.

court; and having performed homage to Henry, and given him the strongest assurances of his fidelity, even under the penalty of forfeiture if he should again revolt, he returned with a safe conduct into Wales.* The Welsh nation, at this dishonourable period, was reduced to the lowest ebb of their fortunes,—their independency gone,—their prince the acknowledged vassal of England,—and, in appearance, every spark of public virtue extinguished.

Though the treaty had been ratified, David was not entirely divested of his fears. He sent privately to Henry, desiring that, being his nephew, he might continue to enjoy the principality of Wales in preference to Gryffydd, who was not related to the King. He likewise insinuated that, by setting his brother at liberty, he let loose a spirit that would raise divisions in the country, and administer

* Welsh Chron. p. 307. Math. Paris, p. 506.

causes for continual wars.* Coinciding but too well with the wishes and interested views of Henry, the reasons which were offered by the Welsh Prince decided the fate of his brother. Having received him
A. D. 1242. from the hands of David, the King sent the unfortunate Gryffydd, and the hostages lately given up, to London, in the custody of Sir John de Lexington, with orders that that Prince, and his eldest son Owen, should be confined in the tower:† a conduct full of meanness and duplicity, and unworthy of a great monarch. The King likewise ordered a *noble* a day to be allowed him for his maintenance.‡

Though deserted by the world, and in the power of his enemies, one friendly bosom was still alive to his interests. His

* Welsh Chron. p. 307. Math. Paris, p. 506. Brady, p. 578.

† Math. Paris, p. 506. Welsh Chron. p. 307.

‡ Math. Paris, p. 545. Holinshead, p. 228.

faithful adherent, the Bishop of Bangor, came again to the English court, to intercede with the King for the enlargement of Gryffydd; but, humanity and justice not mingling in Henry's councils, he rejected every solicitation which was made in his favour. Languishing two years in confinement, and despairing of any other relief, this miserable Prince at length attempted to make his escape, thinking any danger preferable to a situation so wretched as that of being confined in a foreign prison during his life—the victim of state policy. One night, having deceived his keepers, he got out of the window, and with a line which he had made by fastening together pieces of the tapestry of his chamber, the sheets belonging to his bed, and the napkins that covered his table, he attempted to let himself down from the tower in which he was confined; but being very corpulent, after he had descended a little way, his weight broke the line, and he fell into the ditch with such violence, that his head and neck were nearly driven into his body; in which

situation he was found in the morning.* His son Owen, and Sina his wife, who had shared in his tedious captivity, were the witnesses of this melancholy spectacle.† This disaster, instead of raising Henry's pity, was a reason with that Prince for treating his son with greater rigour, by rendering more close his confinement.‡ The reader will feel an emotion of sorrow at the fate of this gallant Prince, who, in a foreign country, and impelled by the first law of nature, fell a victim to the designs of an ambitious brother—to the perfidious conduct of Henry, and his interested policy.

A. D. 1244. 1st of March, 28th of Hen. 3.

To strengthen the maritime parts of Flintshire, the English King repaired the fortifications of the castle of Diserth. He likewise exercised the right he had lately acquired as the sovereign over Wales, by giving to Gryffydd, the son of

* Math. Paris, p. 545. Stowe's Chron. p. 186.

† Math. Paris, p. 545. ‡ Ibid.

Gwenwynwyn, his inheritance in Powys, and to the sons of Cynan ap Owen Gwynedd, their territories in Meirionydd.*

A new scene now opens to our view. The veil is drawn aside which had of late concealed from the Welsh Princes the designs of the English monarch. They had vainly thought, though reduced to a state of vassalage, that they should be able to retain the appearance of royalty, and some semblance of their ancient grandeur. They did not reflect that, having lost the substance of power, its attendant shadow would soon disappear. That the Welsh might no longer be deluded by even the semblance of freedom, Henry, already in possession of the sovereignty, gave to his eldest son Edward the title of Prince of Wales.† The death of Gryffydd, the real heir to the crown, though it could not

* Welsh Chron. p. 308.

† Camden's Brit. Gibson's edit. p. 695. Polidore Virgil, p. 311. British Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 29, 30. Welsh Chron. p. 309.

justify the conduct, might give it a colourable pretext. At this intelligence, David revolted from his allegiance,—alive at last to a sense of shame for his own dishonour, and for the ignominious situation of his country.

A. D. 1244.

In hopes of securing his subjects from the various and increasing oppressions of the English Government, David solicited the Pope's protection; offering to hold his dominions under him as a fief of the holy see,* and to pay likewise an annual tribute of five hundred marks;† concluding that if he and his people must be the vassals of a foreign prince, it was his wisest course to yield obedience to a power which was superior to all the sovereigns in Europe. The Pope, acceding to the proposal, and having received a large sum of money from the Welsh Prince, vested the abbots of Cymmer and

* Mat. Paris, p. 552.

† Mat. Westm. p. 139. Mat. Paris, p. 550, 573. Brady, p. 592.

Conway with full powers to sit as a court of inquiry—whether David was under the influence of terror or of force, at the time he consented to do homage, and to be tied down to the late arbitrations. If an improper influence was found to have been the case, they were then to absolve him from the oaths and the other engagements which he had taken. In the fulness of spiritual importance, the Welsh abbots summoned King Henry to appear before them at Caerwys,* and, in the church† of that town, to answer the complaints which David might alledge against him. This indignity was highly resented by the King and all the Barons of England.‡ But the negociation with Rome did not in the event produce any useful effect. Henry, acquainted with the venality of that court, and that he might

* Mat. Paris, p. 573. Brady, p. 592. Welsh Chron. p. 309, says at Creythyn.

† *Gustefend.*

‡ Mat. Paris, p. 573. J. Rossi, Ant. Warwicensis, p. 162.

not be baffled by a Prince so insignificant as David, made larger offers, which, agreeably to the versatile and unprinci-
A. D. 1245. pled conduct of Rome, turned the scale in favour of the English.*

In the mean time, under the protection of the Pope, and encouraged by so potent an alliance, David had made an incursion into the marches, and had ravaged the estates of the English Lords. Henry was at this time in Scotland; but, during his absence, he had appointed the Earl of Hereford, the Earl of Clare, Thomas de Monmouth, Roger de Mont Alto, and others of the Lords Marchers, to make head against the Welsh, and to check their depredations.† Incursions conti-

* Welsh Chron. p. 309. Rymer, vol. I. p. 425, 430.

† Mat. Paris, p. 562. Polidore Virgil, p. 308, says that in this enterprize David lost the greater part of his army, and that he repaired to Scotland to incite the Scots Prince to turn his arms against Henry.

nuing to be carried on with terrible devastations, the King, on his return into England, sent Herbert Fitz Matthew, with three hundred horse, to co-operate with the Lords of the Marches.* Before his arrival, the Welsh Prince had routed the forces of the Earl of Hereford and Ralph de Mortimer; the former Lord having in some measure been the cause of this insurrection, by detaining from David a certain district of land, which had been the property of his wife,† and who was sister to that nobleman. These disasters alarmed King Henry, and created great indignation among the English. But his finances were so much exhausted, and his credit so low, that the Parliament refused him the means of carrying on the war;‡ thinking, it is probable, that the Welsh were neither much to be blamed, nor, if allowed to remain unmolested, were they much to be feared.

* Mat. Paris, p. 569.

† Ibid.

‡ Brady, vol. I. p. 592. Mat. Paris, p. 572.

A. D. 1245. 29th of Hen. 3. Unchecked by any national force, hostilities, which were carried on with various success, continued to desolate the borders; in the course of which, a party of the Welsh had been drawn into an ambuscade by the constable of Montgomery castle, and three hundred of them cut in pieces.* To revenge this loss, David fell with great fury on the estates of the English Lords. This inroad was opposed by Herbert Fitz Matthew, at the head of the militia belonging to the marches: but that general, breathing the spirit of revenge, and unacquainted with the country, soon led the English army into a difficult situation, in which they were suddenly attacked by the Welsh, who were posted upon the heights adjacent, and from thence much annoyed their enemies by a shower of stones, arrows, and darts. In this rude encounter, Herbert Fitz Matthew was killed by a large stone rolled down from the mountains. The English, dispirited by the loss of their leader, retreated with precipita-

* Mat. Paris, p. 575.

tion out of the country. This success animated the Welsh to pursue their devastations with increased vigour and fury. But they soon after sustained the loss of two hundred men in another ambuscade near the castle of Montgomery. Incensed at this disaster, and taking advantage of the general consternation, the Prince of Wales laid siege to the castle of Mold, which he took by storm, and put all the garrison to the sword; the governor, Roger de Mont Alto having escaped the danger, he not being in the fortress at the time it was taken. These bloody events heightened the fierceness of the war; and it was henceforward carried on with a savage and unrelenting fury; neither of the parties sparing the age, nor sex, nor condition of their enemies.*

David was now summoned to appear, with all the Barons of Wales, in the King's court at Westminster, to do homage, and to answer for the depredations which they

* Mat. Paris, p. 576.

had lately committed. About twenty of the Welsh nobility made their appearance. Instead of obeying the summons, the Prince of Wales appears to have amused the English court by a treaty; which having miscarried, the most formidable preparations were made by Henry for the entire conquest of the country.*

The revolt now wore a most serious aspect. The English Parliament, therefore, not only gave the necessary supplies, but thought proper that the King should in person go into Wales, to give an early check to David's career, and to punish the rebellion of an insolent vassal. It was on this occasion that an extraordinary assessment of forty shillings took place for every knight's fee, called the scutage of Gannock.† Summonses were sent to all the barons and others who held of the King by knights' service and serjeantry,

A. D. June, 1245.

* Rymer, p. 427—431.

† Carte's Hist. England, vol. II. p. 82, from Rotul. Pip. 30 Hen. III. Oxon.

to be ready to march into Wales, or to send thither their services.* Orders were likewise sent to Henry's justiciary in Ireland, that a diversion should be made from thence on the island of Anglesey;† and for that purpose he was to provide the choicest of his soldiers: he was also to furnish the necessary provisions for the army which was to be employed in the Welsh expedition.‡

It was about the middle of August that Henry entered the confines of Wales. By that time, the Irish had made a descent upon Anglesey, and had dreadfully ravaged that island;§ but not being pro- A. D. 1245.
perly supported by the English King, who had been too slow in his movements, they were assailed by the inhabitants, when loaded with plunder, and were driven back to their ships.||

* Rymer, p. 433. Brady, vol. I. p. 591. Mat. Paris, p. 580.

† Welsh Chron. p. 310. ‡ Rymer, p. 431.

§ Mat. Paris, p. 599. || Welsh Chron. p. 310.

The English army was too powerful for David to resist in the open field: he therefore retired to the mountains of Snowdun, leaving Henry's march open and unmolested, until he had advanced to the arm of the sea, which is opposite to Conway. Not daring to pass that river, and enter into the mountainous recesses of the country, the enemy unseen, and in flying parties hovering around him, Henry halted his troops, though determined that the expedition should not be rendered entirely fruitless. On the point of a promontory which projects into the sea were the ruins of an ancient fortification, once a Roman station, and which had been afterwards a fortress belonging to the Welsh, called Diganwy, and an occasional residence of their earlier princes. Thinking this a proper situation, the King began to rebuild this castle, the garrison of which might be able to intercept the enemy's parties whenever they made incursions into England.* But the Welsh did not remain

* Mat. Paris, p. 597. Henry de Knyghton de Eventibus Angliæ, p. 2443. Welsh Chron. p. 311.

unconcerned spectators of a transaction of so hostile a nature, and which, if suffered to be completed, would prove the deadly dart * which would remain and fester in the bosom of their country.

During the ten weeks which Henry had employed in erecting this fortress, his army, which lay encamped in the open field, was exposed to many inconveniencies. The weather growing exceedingly cold towards the close of the summer, the soldiers suffered much by being thinly clad, and by having no other covering than tents made of linen; the troops, likewise, were at times reduced to great distress by a scarcity of provisions,† re-

* Mat. Paris says, *Spina in occulo.*

† The bread which was usually sold for one farthing now sold for five-pence—a hen for eightpence; and the English had in their camp only one cask of wine, one ox, and one quarter of corn worth twenty shillings.—Mat. Paris, p. 598. But perhaps a reservation was made for a due supply of provisions for the castle of Gannock, which, it appears, was completely furnished with every necessary, on the king's departure.

ceiving only a precarious supply from Chester and Ireland: they were also much harassed, and their numbers reduced, by the incessant attempts which the Welsh made in the night to cut off their straggling parties, and to storm their camp.*

In this perilous state, a vessel loaded with provisions arrived out of Ireland, and had been suffered to run aground on the shore adjoining to Snowdun, at the ebb of the tide, by the negligence of the mariners. The Welsh did not neglect this fortunate occurrence, but ran to take possession of the prize, by this time laid dry on the strand: in attempting which, they received a check from Sir Walter Bisset, who, with great spirit and conduct, defended the vessel, until a reinforcement of Welshmen, who were Henry's vassals in the marches, had crossed the river, and

* In one of these conflicts, the English having the advantage, they brought in triumph to their camp the heads of nearly one hundred Welshmen.—See Mat. Paris, p. 598.

had come to his relief. Having driven off the assailants, the English party pursued them with great slaughter six miles up into the country; and on their return, flushed with success, pillaged of its books and silver cups the abbey of Conway, a religious house of the Cistercian order: they then set fire to all the offices. With a rage that bordered upon frenzy, the Welsh ran down from the mountains to preserve that venerable pile, the object of their piety, and which had lately become the *mausolæum* of their princes. Finding the English overloaded with spoils, they slew great numbers, and wounded others; many also were taken prisoners; and the remainder, to avoid the fury of the Welsh, plunged into the Conway, and perished in the water. Besides those who were drowned, several gentlemen of rank, and about one hundred common persons, fell by the sword. In this day's action, the same number were slain on the side of the Welsh. The soldiers who were taken alive were at first only lodged in confinement; but the

Welsh, being informed that their enemies had lately put to death some lords of their nation, ordered all the prisoners to be hanged; then, cutting off their heads, and, with a barbarous rage, tearing their dead bodies in pieces, they threw their mutilated limbs into the Conway water.* Some colour of justice, indeed, was given to this act of ferocity, many of the prisoners being Welshmen, who, under the command of the Lords of Powys, had joined the enemies of their country.

The vessel before-mentioned, which was still aground, was again violently assaulted, and as bravely defended until midnight by Sir Walter Bisset; when, on the flowing of the tide, and the ship being afloat, the Welsh were obliged to retire. During the night, the party commanded

* Mat. Paris, p. 597, 598, 599. This account is given by an English Lord serving at that time in Henry's army.

† Welsh Chron. p. 311.

by Sir Walter were released from their post, and, leaving the ship, escaped to the English camp. In the morning, it being then low water, the Welsh returned to the vessel, to make further depredations on their prize; and, finding her deserted, carried away almost all the wine, and the remainder of the cargo. Having so far secured this valuable prize, a part of which consisted of fifty-three tons of wine, they set fire to the ship, and made good their retreat. Seven tons only were saved by the English, who drew them out of a part of the vessel which had not been consumed by the fire.*

Having at length finished the important fortress of Diganwy,† in the face of the

* During these transactions, David, the Prince of Wales, being sick, and oppressed with cares, frequently retired to his camp at *Tintaiol,* to refresh himself, and recover from the fatigues of war.—Mat. Paris, p. 599.

† Called Gannock by the English.

Welsh, and against all the efforts they had used to prevent it, Henry left in that castle a numerous garrison, well furnished with victuals and all military implements; and being unable to continue any longer in this situation, his provisions being exhausted, and the winter being near, he
A. D. 1245. returned at the end of October, with the remainder of his army, into England.*

Many causes conspired to render deplorable the situation of the Welsh. No party of theirs' could move towards the Cheshire frontier, but they were liable to be cut off by the garrison of the new fortified castle of Diganwy. Anglesey, the granary of Wales, had been so entirely laid waste by the Irish, that no advantage could be derived from thence; nor could they be supplied with provisions from other parts, as orders had been given by the English King, in the marches and in Ireland, that, on pain of death, no mer-

* Mat. Paris, p. 599.

chandize whatever, or victuals,* should be carried into Wales.† He had likewise ordered all the salt‡ works to be destroyed in the country.§ What heightened still more the public distress, the territories of the Welsh Prince were reduced within the limits of Meirionydd and the present county of Caernarvon, and to the barren parts of the adjoining country; and, it is probable, too, that besides the usual inhabitants, those mountains were at this time crowded with people, who had fled out of the valleys for protection.|| In such a situation, the Welsh had no alternative but famine, or submission to Henry's authority.

* By this prohibition of the English King, such was the scarcity of provisions, that a famine had nearly taken place in Chester and in the adjacent country. Mat. Paris.

† Rymer, vol. I. p. 440. Mat. Paris, p. 599.

‡ Puteos Salinarum de *Witz.* Mat, Paris.

§ Mat. Paris, p. 599.

|| Ibid. p. 600.

In this season of common calamity, the rage of contending parties was suspended; and all the chieftains of Wales, retaining no longer their animosities, and uniting in a generous confederacy, gave to their sovereign the most solemn assurances of perpetual allegiance.* But their offers of aid, or their vows of fidelity, had no power of affording relief to David: the miseries of his country, and the prospect which was opening before him, had broken his spirit; and, a few months after, sinking under the weight of sorrow, lamented by his subjects, and rising in their esteem, he died † at Aber, a palace in which he usually resided, upon the sea coast in Caernarvonshire. This Prince left no issue, and was buried in the abbey of Conway. ‡

A. D. 1246. 30th of Hen. 3.

We have now seen the Welsh nation subject to the most distant extremes of

* Wynne's Hist. Wales, p. 268.
† Mat. Paris, p. 608, 610.
‡ Wynne's Hist. Wales, p 268.

fortune. Their annals, in rapid succession, are marked with striking vicissitudes. Influenced by sudden, and often by hidden springs, we have seen them, by uniting their strength, and exerting its force, rising up to the height of prosperity; and then, from causes which were equally capricious, falling in a moment into disunion and vassalage.

HISTORY

OF

WALES.

BOOK VIII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF OWEN AND LLEWELYN, THE SONS OF GRYFFYDD AP LLEWELYN AP IORWERTH, TO THE DEATH OF LLEWELYN AP GRYFFYDD.

A. D. 1246. ON the death of the late Prince, the Welsh nobility elected Owen and Llewelyn joint sovereigns of North Wales. These young Princes were the sons of Gryffydd ap Llewelyn, who some years before had been killed by attempting to escape out of the Tower of London.*

* Welsh Chron. p. 314.

Owen had shared in the captivity of his father, but was afterwards taken into Henry's favour, and appears to have been highly caressed in the English court. Receiving intelligence of the late events, he suddenly withdrew out of England, and fortunately effected his escape into Wales.* The young Prince Llewelyn, before his accession to the throne, had resided at Maesmynan, near Caerwys in Flintshire, and possessed, as the patrimony which he had received from his father, the cantrevs of Englefield, Dyffryn-Clwyd, Rhos, and Rhyvonioc; all of which he had held, during the late reign, in opposition to his uncle David, and the English monarch.†

Oppressed by the hated laws of England, the Welsh, at this period, had neither opportunity nor spirit to carry on commerce, nor to cultivate their land, and in consequence were perishing by famine: they

* Mat. Paris, p. 608.

† Hist. Gwedir Family, p 28.

were likewise deprived of the usual pasturage for their cattle: and, to recite the words of an old writer, expressive of their bondage, "the harp of the churchmen is changed into sorrow and lamentations: the glory of their proud and ancient nobility is faded away." *

In this state of their country, the Welsh Princes thought it prudent, upon their accession, to conclude a peace with the English King, on the following severe conditions,—of yielding up for ever the cantrevs of Rhos, Rhyvonioc, Dyffryn-Clwyd, and Englefield, being all the country from the frontier of Cheshire to the water of Conway.† They were likewise

* The Bishop of St. David is said, at this time, to have died of grief, and the Bishop of Llandaff to have been stricken blind: the Bishops of Bangor and St. Asaph, likewise, on their bishoprics being entirely ruined, were under the necessity of supplicating alms, as a means of subsistence. Vide Matth. Paris, p. 642.

† *Cynwy* or *Chief Water.*

obliged to serve in Wales, or in the marches, with one thousand foot and twenty-four horse, armed and well-appointed, at their own expense, whenever they were called upon; but with five hundred infantry only, when the service should require that duty to be performed in any other place: the homage and services of all the Barons in Wales were to remain with the Kings of England for ever: if there should be any infringement of the peace on the part of the Welsh Princes, an entire forfeiture of their territories was to be the consequence. For these concessions, after the two Princes had performed their homage, Henry granted them a full pardon, and the enjoyment of the residue of North Wales, to be held under the crown of England for ever.*

A. D 1247. 31st of Hen. 3.

The country from Chester to the river Conway, which had been given by Henry

* Rymer, p. 443. About this time, the abbots of Strata Florida and Conway procured from the English king the body of the late Gryffydd ap Llewelyn, which they safely conveyed to the abbey of Conway, where the remains of that prince were honourably interred. Welsh Chron. p. 319.

as an appendage to his son prince Edward, was, at this time, let out to farm, to Alan de Zouch, an English baron, for eleven hundred marks.* He superseded John de Grey, who was to have held it for the lesser sum of five hundred.† The Welsh, likewise, early tasted another bitter fruit of their subjection; a talliage having been laid upon all that territory which had been lately ceded in Wales, to defray the expence of Henry's intended expedition into the Holy Land.‡

A. D. 1251. 35th of Hen. 3.

For some years the Welsh nation, dispirited and inactive, had lost with their freedom every trace of their national character; until the demon of discord, reviving their spirit and genius, roused it once again into action.

A. D. 1254. Owen, the eldest of the reigning Welsh princes, not enduring a partner in the

* Brady, vol. I. p. 605. † Matth. Paris, p. 705.
‡ Carte's Hist. Eng. Inter. Communia, Trin. Term. 36 Hen. III.

throne, drew in David his younger brother, to engage with him in hostilities against Llewelyn. The two brothers, in pursuance of their ambitious designs, took the field with a considerable force; and fighting with Llewelyn, their army was routed, after a long and bloody engagement, and they themselves taken prisoners, and secured in confinement; leaving to that prince the sole possession of what remained of this mutilated kingdom.*

The eyes of the Welsh nobility were at length opened; a series of injuries had awakened them into a sense of their lost condition. Actuated by one common spirit, the chieftains of Wales resorted to Llewelyn; and complained of the grievances which they had long endured from prince Edward, and from the lords of the marches; that their estates had been taken from them by force, without any colour of justice; and that they

* Welsh Chron. p. 310. Annales Burton, p. 386.

were, also, treated with severity, whenever they committed the smallest offence; but that they themselves could obtain no redress, for any injury which was done them by the English.* In the most solemn manner, and with an afflicted though manly spirit, they declared; that they would rather die in the field in defence of their natural rights, than be subject any longer to so cruel and oppressive an enemy. Necessity, virtue, and despair, influenced Llewelyn to second their ardour. They all determined to rescue their country from its vile dependence upon England, or bravely to
A. D. 1255. perish amidst the ruins of its freedom.†

When men meet to deliberate, and form a resolution to revolt, a decisive conduct should then take place of feeble and temporising measures. The conduct of Llewelyn, on this important occasion, was equally rapid and decisive. He recovered Meirionydd, and the inland

* Welsh Chron. p. 320. † Mat. Paris, p. 806.

country of North Wales which had been lately ceded to Henry; and also such territories in Caerdigan as were in the possession of Prince Edward; and the district also of Gwrthrynion, the property of Sir Roger Mortimer.*

The summer following, he made an incursion into Powys, and subdued a great part of the territory which belonged to Gryffydd ap Gwenwynwyn, to revenge the baseness of his conduct in taking part with the English King.† With a spirit which marked a liberal and penetrating mind, the Prince of Wales divided among the chiefs, his associates in the war, the estates he had conquered.‡ It was certainly a right conduct in Llewelyn, having put his life and his crown to the hazard, to secure the attachment of interested chieftains, by such an act of princely munificence.

A. D. 1256. 40th of Hen. 3.

* Welsh Chron. p. 320. † Mat. Paris, p. 806.

‡ Welsh Chron. p. 320.

Alarmed at a revolt, directed by a common spirit of union, Henry sent a large army by sea to Caermarthen, to the assistance of his vassals in South Wales; which, having laid siege to the castle of Dinevawr, was defeated by the forces of Llewelyn, with the loss of two thousand men. After this victory, the Welsh army laid waste the country of Pembroke, destroying in its march the castles of Abercorran, Llanstephan, Maenclochoc, and
A. D. 1256. Arberth; and then returned, with the spoils which had been taken from the enemy, into North Wales.*

It is not to be supposed that Edward, a prince of the age of seventeen, full of fire and ambition, would see without emotion the progress of Llewelyn, and the many valuable territories which that Prince, his rival in glory, had lately torn from him. His father being unwilling, or, what is more probable, unable to assist him with money, the young Prince

* Welsh Chron. p. 320, 321.

applied to his uncle, the Earl of Cornwall, who lent him four thousand marks, to carry on the war. But the heavy rains which fell during the winter raised the rivers so much as to overflow the marshes; whence, the progress which he made against the enemy was very inconsiderable, and bore no proportion to his spirit, or his thirst after fame.* A. D. 1256.

The Welsh, exposed to the rapacity of a Farmer General, and their country often sold to the best bidder, experienced another severe cause of complaint. Sir Geoffry de Langley† had been appointed to superintend that district which lies between Chester and the water of Conway, and to collect, in behalf of Prince Edward, his revenue; the payment of which had been lately imposed upon the inhabitants of that country.‡ The rigor

* Mat. Paris, p. 805.

† Brady, p. 721, 810. It is probable that he succeeded Alan de Zouch, who had brought into England much treasure in carts out of Wales.

‡ Mat. Paris, p. 805. Brady, p. 620.

with which he exacted this talliage had excited among the Welsh the highest disgust. Against every principle of true policy and justice, Edward also attempted to introduce, on a sudden, the English laws into this part of Wales;* and, in order to give them proper force and effect, he endeavoured to establish courts of justice in every hundred, and in every county.† The design spread a general alarm. Horror, and the keenest indignation, were excited, when the Welsh saw an odious and foreign jurisdiction rising into a system on the ruins of their native laws,—objects which they loved with a tender affection, and revered with a pious enthusiasm, as the types of their ancient glory, and as almost the only vestige which remained of the British empire. Private injury and partial oppression had hitherto met with partial resentment.—But there is a degree of oppression which will urge into resistance even men who

* Brady, p. 605.

† Carte's Hist. England, vol. II. p. 110, from Chron. Dunstaple, p. 321.

are cowards by nature, and who are lost to every sentiment of virtue.—What efforts, then, might not be expected from the Welsh,—a people brave and irascible, and who were bred upon their mountains the indigenous children of freedom?

Such was their sense of injuries and irritated spirit, that the Wesh joined Llewelyn in such numbers, that he soon raised a very formidable force, equipped in all points, and armed agreeably to the custom of the country. For the greater ease of procuring provisions, he divided it into two bodies, each of which consisted of thirty thousand men; attended likewise by a squadron of five hundred horse, elegantly appointed and entirely covered with armour. With this formidable force, the Welsh prince laid waste the frontier, on each side of the river Dee to the gates of Chester.* The prince of England, unable to resist the violence of such a mul-

A. D. 1256. 40th of Hen. 3.

* Chron. Thomas Wyke, p. 50. Matth. Paris, p. 805, 806, 810.

titude, and by its own weight had borne down all opposition, retreated to his uncle the king of the Romans: by whose assistance, having augmented his forces, he returned into Wales; but was still too weak to encounter, or even to give any check to the progress of the Welsh army; although Edward had been lately joined by Gryffydd ap Madoc, the lord of the Lower Powys.*

The natives of South Wales, animated with the same generous spirit, had joined in the common cause.† In support of this union, Llewelyn made an inroad into
A. D. 1257. that country, and making himself master of two castles, and of several districts belonging to the enemy, he returned towards North Wales; but was intercepted in the course of his march by the prince of England. In attempting to oppose the

* This chieftain resided in the castle of Dinas-Bran, near Llangollen in Denbighshire. Welsh Chron. p. 321.

† Holinshead, p. 255.

progress of the prince of Wales, Edward received a considerable check in the Marches, and was obliged to retire before the Welsh army.* Pursuing his route, Llewelyn then laid waste the territories of Gryffydd ap Madoc, in resentment of his late conduct.† A. D. 1257. 41th of Hen. 3.

The vanity of Edward was wounded by the disgrace which his fame as a soldier had lately sustained; an affront which he never forgave; and if his spirit and ambition prompted him to the conquest of the country, he was equally spurred on by pride and resentment against Llewelyn, his rival in arms and his competitor for glory. In the situation of the two princes, it was not likely that the dispute would be of long continuance, it must soon cease by the ruin or by the death of the competitors.

The king of the Romans, desirous of mediating between the two hostile powers,

* Matth. Paris, p. 810. Welsh Chron. p. 321, 328.
† Matth. Paris, p. 806.

A. D. 1257. 41st of Hen. 3.

sent a letter to the prince of Wales; mildly requesting, that he would desist from making any farther depredations. But Llewelyn, taking advantage of the rainy season, and knowing that the marshes were inaccessible,* instead of retiring from the field, laid siege to the castle of Diganwy; on the possession of which he must know, that the fate of his country would in a great measure depend.† Alarmed for the safety of this important fortress, Henry, who had been hitherto an unconcerned spectator, resolved to go into Wales; and in person to conduct a war, which had proved so unprosperous under the conduct of his son. He dispatched orders to his vassals in Ireland, to make a descent upon the island of Anglesey; that by despoiling that country, he might dry up the source from whence the Welsh had usually received a great part of their sustenance. He summoned all his military tenants in the north, and in the midle of England, to meet him on the eleventh of

* Matth. Paris, p. 810. † Welsh Chron. p. 321.

August at Chester; he likewise appointed those of the west to assemble at Bristol, with orders to invade South Wales, under the command of the earl of Gloucester. He was in hopes, that by entering the country in several places, and in different divisions, he might distract the attention of the enemy, and divide their force*

On the advance of the English, Llewelyn raised the siege, and retired across the river to Snowdun; having first taken the precaution to break down the bridges, to obstruct the roads, to plough up the meadows, to render the fords impassable, and to remove the women, children, and cattle, with all the provisions, out of the adjacent country.† Henry did not dare to penetrate that formidable barrier; though he was enabled to remain in his post until Michaelmas, by means of a fleet belong-

* Welsh Chron. p. 322. Mat. Paris, p. 817. Rymer, p. 636.

† Mat. Paris, p. 817.

ing to the Cinque Ports, which supplied his army with provisions. His measures had been wisely planned, and this campaign might have given the fatal blow to the independency of Wales, if Henry's orders had been obeyed with fidelity. The English army in South Wales, instead of making a diversion in his favour, had remained inactive; not without suspicion of treason falling on the earl of Gloucester the general.* Llewelyn no sooner heard of the intention of the Irish of making a descent upon Anglesey, than he dispatched some vessels to intercept them; by which their fleet was defeated, and forced back into Ireland.† The win-
A. D. 1257. ter coming on, and having suffered much by a furious attack which the Welsh had made from the mountains, Henry once again relinquished the field to Llewelyn; and instead of punishing a revolting vassal, he himself, with the broken remains of his

* Chron. Dunstaple, p. 325, 326.

† Mat. Paris, p. 815. Welsh Chron. p. 322.

army, was obliged to make a precipitate and inglorious retreat to Chester.*

Such was the despair, which the late disgraceful campaign had impressed upon the mind of prince Edward, that he was fully determined to relinquish his territories in Wales; and also to renounce his new subjects the Welsh; as a people, who were neither to be subdued, nor, by any means in his power, reduced to submission.†

If disgrace and discomfiture attended Henry's retreat into Englad, Llewelyn had likewise his share of disappointment. He had been flattered with the expectation of receiving support out of Scotland; a party in that kingdom having engaged by treaty, that as soon as the Welsh were in the field, they would make a diversion in their favour, by invading the northern borders of

* Polidore Virgil, p. 313. Mat. Paris, p. 819.

† Mat. Paris, p. 817.

England.* This design being defeated, by a sudden and decisive measure of the English king,† the prince of Wales found himself left, unsupported by any confederate, to sustain the unequal pressure of the war.

Sensible of his danger, and reflecting on the miserable state of his dominions, as well as on the injury which had arisen to his subjects from their having been of late deprived of commerce, Llewelyn was induced, as the father of his people, to put an end to their calamities by a peace with England, which should be grounded upon reasonable concessions. With the
A. D. consent of his chieftains, he made pro-
1257. posals, that if a peace was concluded, and if the Welsh were restored to their ancient laws, to give a sum of money to King Henry, and to acknowledge his sovereignty; but utterly rejected the idea of allegiance, as a duty which he owed to Prince Edward. The English King did

* Brady, vol. I. p. 623. † Ibid.

not accede to the proposal.* It was not likely that the young Prince (affairs having taken a more favourable turn) would be inclined to relinquish such valuable territories, and the royal dignity with which he had been lately invested. The peculiar reluctance which the Welsh expressed to the sovereignty of Edward, amidst other motives of conquest, may account for the cruel and vindictive spirit with which, in the subsequent periods of his life, he pursued this unfortunate nation.

On this refusal, hostilities continued through the winter.

Having summoned to his aid all the chieftains in South Wales, who were his military vassals, Llewelyn came into the marches, and took possession of Powys. He banished out of that country Gryffydd ap Gwenwynwyn, one of its chieftains, and received the submission of the other, Gryffydd ap Madoc, the Lord of Dinas-

* Mat. Paris, p. 819 Brady, p. 622.

Bran, who, perceiving the fortunes of England sinking in the scale, thought it prudent to return to the duty which he had long deserted, and to court the protection of his natural sovereign.* Llewelyn then fell with great fury upon the estates of the Earl of Gloucester, gained several castles belonging to that nobleman, and overthrew, with considerable loss, a party of English who ventured to oppose him.†

To crush this revolt, now raised to a formidable head, Henry once again came in person against Llewelyn; but as if disgrace and misfortune attended his banners, having only penetrated a little beyond Chester, he was obliged to retire with loss into England, obtaining no other fruits, in this inglorious expedition, than the satisfaction of destroying the
A. D. 1257. corn as he marched through the country.‡

* Welsh Chron. p. 322. Mat. Paris, p. 818.

† Ibid.

‡ Mat. Paris, p. 819, 820.

Early in the spring a confederacy had been formed by all the nobility in Wales; who, having sworn fealty* to Llewelyn, renewed their engagements, under the most solemn ties, to vindicate at every peril their injured liberties and laws. By this union, princes may be taught the danger, of tearing up by the roots those habits which are grown venerable by time, and which by long usage are become dear to a people.† A. D. 1257.

The late events had given a fortunate turn to affairs, The present prosperity of the Welsh, the spoils they had taken from the enemy, the general confederacy which had been lately renewed, and the return of Gryffydd ap Madoc to his allegiance, had diffused through every bosom the the hopes of better days. To raise these hopes into pious confidence, Llewelyn addressed his followers in this consolatory

* Brit. Ant. Rev. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

† Mat. Paris, p. 818. Welsh Chron. p. 323.

and animating language. "Thus far," said he "the Lord God of hosts hath helped "us; for it must appear to all that the advantages we have obtained are not to "be ascribed to our own strength, but to "the favour of God, who can as easily "save by *few* as by *many*. How should "we a poor, weak, and unwarlike people "compared with the English, dare to "contend with so mighty a power, if God "did not patronise our cause? His eye "hath seen our affliction, not only those "injuries we have suffered from Geoffry "de Langley, but those also which we "have received from other cruel instruments of Henry and of Edward. From "this moment our *all* is at stake. If we "fall into the hands of the enemy, we "are to expect no mercy. Let us then "stand firm by each other. It is our "union alone which can render us invincible. You see in what manner the "King of England treats his own subjects; how he seizes their estates, impoverishes their families, and alienates "their minds. Will he then spare *us*,

" after all the provocations we have given " him, and the farther acts of hostility " and revenge which we meditate against " him? No: it is evidently his intention " to blot out our name from under the " face of heaven. Is it not better then " at once to die, and go to God, than " to live for a time at the capricious will " of another, and at last to suffer some " ignominious death, assigned us by an " insulting enemy?" Animated by this oration, the Welsh infested the English borders with incessant inroads. In the course of their ravages, by fire, by the sword, and by plunder, they rendered the frontier a scene of desolation.*

In the course of these hostilities, the confederates made an inroad into Pembroke, and laid waste that country: they likewise had the good fortune to meet with salt, a convenience they had much wanted ever since their brine works had been destroyed by King Henry.*

* Mat. Paris, p. 819.

Though prosperity had of late attended the arms of Llewelyn, and a generous spirit had arisen among the chieftains in Wales, yet such was the miserable state of his country, that the Welsh Prince was still inclined to renew his proposals for peace. The English King acceded to the terms which were offered by Llewelyn, and agreed to a truce for one year.*
A. D. 1258. 42d of Hen. 3. His own situation rendered a peace equally necessary to him. He, at this time, was deeply entangled in disputes with his barons: the country, too, along the marches of England, had been ruined by the ravages of war. The whole confine was become a desart, without buildings, cattle, or inhabitants.†

It may raise our surprise, that a Prince like Llewelyn, possessing vigour of mind and decision in conduct, at a time when England was weak and internally convulsed, did not take advantage of this

* Welsh Chron. p. 323. Rymer, vol. I. p. 658.

† Mat. Paris, p. 822. Holinshead, p. 257.

fortunate juncture, and of the rising spirit of his country, to fix upon a permanent basis, by wise measures and decisive operations, its newly-recovered independence. The spirit of a people, however ardent at first, and rising from the spur of oppression, will insensibly die away, if not kept alive by a course of activity and enterprise: and he might have known that, in this perilous crisis, the decline of that generous spirit, like the extinction of the *Vestal fire*, would be the omen of his country's ruin.

The ties of union thus loosened, and the hurry of action no longer engaging an eager or capricious spirit, Meredydd ap Rhys, an eminent chieftain in South Wales,* not regarding the oath he had lately taken, revolted from the Welsh confederacy, and espoused the interests of the English King.†

* This chieftain was the son of Rhys ap Rhys, and was the grandson of Rhys ap Gryffydd, the last Prince of South Wales.

† Welsh Chron. p. 323.

In order to confirm or enlarge the late truce, or to conclude a peace upon a lasting basis, Prince Edward sent Patrick de Canton, attended by the late revolted chieftain, into Wales; to confer on that business, with the Welsh commissioners, at Emlyn, in the present county of Caermarthen. David, the brother of the Prince of Wales, who had been lately released out of prison, appeared at the head of the deputies in behalf of Llewelyn. The English commissioner, having understood that his own followers were superior in number to the Welsh, could not refrain, on this opportunity, from indulging the innate detestation in which he held that nation. To gratify this spirit, he stationed his party in a convenient situation upon the road; and, suddenly assaulting Llewelyn's commissioners, put many of them to the sword; the chiefs only escaping the perfidy of the English by a precipitate flight. Fired with resentment, David, with the chieftains who attended him, having raised the power of the country, severely revenged this per-

fidious conduct, by cutting in pieces Patrick and a great number of his followers.* This transaction strongly marks in the English an inveteracy of spirit; and marks also the feeble hold which the claims of the Welsh had upon the justice of Henry; when we see that Prince, instead of vindicating the honour of his crown, by punishing so flagrant a violation of national faith, affecting to shew resentment against Llewelyn, for an act of retaliation so natural and just.

Such, however, was the desire of the Welsh Prince for peace, or such the situation of his affairs, that he once again renewed his proposals to Henry for a truce; and more effectually to conciliate his favour, he offered to give that King four thousand marks, three hundred to his son Edward, and two hundred to the queen.† The late affair, with a sense of former losses, had so exasperated Henry, that he

* Welsh Chron. p. 324. Mat. Paris, p. 838.

† Mat. Paris, p. 841

at first refused to enter into any terms of accommodation.* At length a truce was settled for a year, and ratified by the commissioners of the two Princes at the Ford of Montgomery.†

A. D. 1259. 43d of Hen. 3.

The spirit of patriotism which had so lately animated every bosom, and had afforded a ray of hope that the sufferings of this injured people would at length find a period, appears, at this time, to be nearly extinguished. The bishop of Bangor, at the desire of the Welsh nobility, was sent by the Prince of Wales to solicit peace from King Henry; and to offer that Monarch sixteen thousand pounds weight of silver, provided that his subjects might enjoy their ancient customs and laws, and might have all their disputes heard, and legally determined at Chester.‡ In this negociation, nothing farther was con-

* Mat. Paris, p. 841.

† Welsh Chron. p. 324. Rymer, p. 684.

‡ Mat. Westm. p. 148. Welsh Chron. p. 325. Holinshead, p. 261.

cluded, than the continuation of the truce for one year, which was ratified by the commissioners of the two Princes at Oxford.* A. D. 1260.

Sir Roger Mortimer, governor of the castle of Buellt, which he held under Prince Edward, attended, in pursuance of a summons, his duty in the English parliament. Under the alledged reason, that contrary to his oath that nobleman had supported the English cause, Llewelyn surprised in the night his fortress, in breach of the truce then subsisting; and continuing his route into South Wales, committed in that country great depredations.† Insinuations on this account having been thrown out against the conduct of Sir Roger Mortimer, who was a near relation to Llewelyn; it was thought necessary that an inquiry should be made into that affair. Accordingly he was

* Rymer, p. 708.

† Welsh Chron. p. 325. Rymer, p. 705.

called before the English council, where he was fully acquitted; though very much to the dissatisfaction of Prince Edward, who formally entered his protest against the decision of that assembly.*

To check this rising spirit of revolt, and to chastise the Welsh for the late infraction of the peace, summonses were sent to the earls of Hereford and Gloucester, to assemble with their followers on a certain day at Shrewsbury. The like notices were also sent to all the tenants who held of the King in capite; in the several counties of York, Lancaster, Rutland, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland; of Lincoln, Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, and Warwick; to form a junction at Chester, and from thence to assist in carry on the war. The thunders of the Church were likewise pointed at the head of Llewelyn. That Prince was excommunicated, and his kingdom put un-

* Rymer, p. 706, 707, 708.

der an interdict, in default of immediate restitution and reparation of damages.* This formidable army was commanded by Simon de Montford earl of Leicester. That general, finding the summer too far advanced to pursue his operations, or, what is more probable, influenced by a secret inclination to the enemy's cause, advised the court of England to grant a peace to Llewelyn; he likewise did not prevent the Welsh Prince at the same time from committing depredations in South Wales.†

It is asserted, that Llewelyn dispersed the rising storm, by disavowing the fact which gave occasion to the war, and by employing the bishop of Bangor to solicit a renewal of the truce.‡ It is certain, however, that a truce was settled for one year longer between the two Princes at

* Rymer, p. 708.

† Rymer, vol. I. p. 709, 710, 711. Guthrie's English Hist. 789.

‡ Rymer, vol. p. 718.

the Ford of Montgomery. In this treaty, the condition of peace concluded at Oxford were ratified: That each party should keep possession of their estates, vassals, and castles: That the fords should not be stopped, nor any other communication, nor the woods be cut down; and that the castles of Diganwy and Diserth, then in the possession of the English, should be supplied with provisions as occasion might require.* It is worthy of remark, that two sets of commissions were issued, to the same effect, and in the same words; except that in the one, the name of Prince Edward was joined
A. D. 1261. to that of his father; but in the other
44th of Hen. 3. commission his name was omitted. This was probably owing to an idea, that as the Welsh had conceived much jealousy of, and dislike to the young Prince, the insertion of his name, as a contracting party, might be some impediment to the treaty.†

* Rymer, vol. I. p. 718.

† Carte's Hist. England. Guthrie's Hist. England.

A party of the Welsh, under the direction of their Prince, and in violation of the late treaty, having suddenly taken and demolished the castle of Melienyth in the county of Radnor, a fortress belonging to Sir Roger Mortimer, that nobleman came to its relief, attended by a great body of lords and knights; and, finding no enemy to oppose his design, he stationed himself within its ruins. In this situation, he was suddenly invested A. D 1261. by Llewelyn. Finding his post untenable, Mortimer sent to the Welsh Prince for licence to evacuate the castle. It was a strange request for an open enemy, or a suspected traitor, to make. With a gallantry of spirit, which might have been derived from the purest ideas of chivalry, Llewelyn allowed him to depart out of the dismantled fortress without any molestation.

The Prince of Wales then proceeded to Brecknock, at the request of the inhabitants of that country; and having received their oaths of fidelity, he re-

turned to Aber, situated under *Penmaen Mawr*, a palace between Conway and Bangor, in which he occasionally resided.*

The truce appears to have been continued between the two nations upon principles of equal justice, and, in some
A. D. 1262. degree, upon the footing of independent states.† These treaties, successively renewed, did not result so much from any moderation in the politics of England, as from the necessities of Henry, and from the nature of his government, which was weak and strongly convulsed.

At this time, Henry was sick in France. The Earl of Leicester, then attending the English King, and who had been deeply engaged in opposition to that Prince, taking advantage of his indisposition, passed over into England, to reanimate his party, and to take measures for re-

* Welsh Chron. p. 325, 326. Camden's Brit. Gibson's edit. p. 585.

† Rymer, p. 739, 750.

newing the troubles of the nation.* Though the earl did not remain long in the country, he seems then to have formed the confederacy which long after subsisted between himself and the Prince of Wales.† The immediate effects resulting from this treaty were of considerable advantage to the interests of Wales; though of less importance than might have been expected, if Llewelyn had waited until time had fully ripened the enterprise.

The Christmas holidays were scarcely over, when the Prince of Wales, with three hundred horse, and thirty thousand infantry, fell upon the marches of England, and having ravaged the country as far as Wigmore, gained possession of two castles, the property of Sir Roger Mortimer.‡ Though Mortimer was not able to oppose the main body of the enemy, he was not wanting to himself on this occasion; but calling to his assistance the A. D. 1263. 46th of Hen. 3.

* Mat. Westm. p. 149. † Mat. Paris, p. 851.

‡ Rymer, p. 754.

lords of the marches, he attacked the detached parties of the Welsh, killing great numbers of them in various rencounters.* For these losses the Prince of Wales took ample revenge, having had the good fortune to cut off a like number of the English.† It does not appear that Llewelyn, in this expedition, committed any ravages, but on those estates which belonged to Sir Roger Mortimer, and to other lords who adhered to the King's cause. Having wasted their territories with fire and sword, he marched his forces into the earldom of Chester, to make the like depredations in Edward's dominions.‡

The war becoming now alarming, Henry, who was returned into his own kingdom, sent an order to his son to come immediately into England; the young Prince being at this time in France, amusing himself in *jousts* and

* Holinshead, p. 263. † Ibid.

‡ Mat. Paris, p. 851.

tournaments, agreeably to the taste of this military age.* Edward, placing no confidence in the English nobility, engaged in his service one hundred foreign knights, who, deserting the semblance of war, were desirous of signalising themselves in more perilous encounters.

On his arrival in England, Edward lost no time in marching against Llewelyn. His presence was highly necessary to check that Prince's career. For, besides the dreadful devastations he had committed on the territories of Edward, through which he had marched, the Prince of Wales had already taken the castle of Diserth, and the important fortress of Diganwy.† These posts were immediately destroyed. The latter had been of the utmost value to the English, and highly dangerous to the safety of Wales. Situated on the coast, it was

A. D. 1263.

* Rymer, p. 755.

† Jo. Rossi, Ant. Warw. p. 162. Mat. Paris, p. 851. Mat. Westm. p. 149.

open to receive a continual supply of provision and soldiers; and, commanding one of the principal passes into Wales over the water of Conway, its garrison was enabled to cut off the excursionary parties of the Welsh; and being likewise a place of great strength, in point of situation and structure, it afforded to the English a secure retreat upon any disaster.

On the approach of the English Prince, Llewelyn passed the Conway, and sheltered himself amidst the mountains of Snowdun. There was no attacking the enemy in so difficult a post; and, fortunately for Edward, as his pride might have been wounded by the issue of the campaign, he was recalled by his father on an affair of importance.*

The castle of Mold, another place of strength upon the frontier, and usually in the possession of the English, was

* Holinshead, p. 264. J, Rossi, Ant. Warw. p. 162,

taken and demolished by Gryffydd ap Gwenwynwyn, at this time returned to his allegiance to the Prince of Wales.* These three castles being taken, the English confine was rendered almost defenceless. The reduction of these fortresses, strong by art and nature, lying upon the frontier, and situated near the sea, was an event glorious to Llewelyn, and of the utmost importance to his country. And if this nation had not been sinking into ruin, with a force too powerful to be resisted, it might, by these important successes, have continued some ages longer an illustrious monument to the world, of what men are capable of performing, whose native spirit is sharpened by injuries, and who, amidst the recesses of their mountains, are contending for freedom. A. D. 1263.

The discontented humours, which had been long forming among the English, were now come to a head; and under the

* Welsh Chron. p. 326.

guidance of Simon de Montford the earl of Leicester, had broken out into a dangerous rebellion. The two sons of Montford were dispatched by their father with a strong body of forces, to co-operate with
A. D. Llewelyn in his ravages on the Borders*
1263. The confederate army, for a time, made
46th of Hen. 3. a dreadful progress, though opposed by Mortimer and other Lords of the marches, and at length took the castle of Radnor, and burned it to the ground.† As soon as Edward was informed of these hostilities, he made a hasty march from London to the assistance of Mortimer, then invested by the enemy in the castle of Wigmore. That fortress was soon after taken by the Welsh, but not before Mortimer had made his escape; who fled for protection to Prince Edward, then arrived at Hereford.‡ Pursuing his route, the English Prince took the castles of Hay, Huntington, and Brecknock; the cus-

* Carte's Hist. England, vol. I. p. 141.

† Holinshead, p. 261. Stowe's Chron. p. 193.

‡ Ibid.

tody of which he committed to Sir Roger Mortimer.* The operations on both sides were suddenly interupted by a truce; during which time a treaty was to be carried on between the King and the barons, in the presence of the French ambassador.† In this treaty, a remission of offences took place, in which Llewelyn was included as the confederate of Simon de Montford.* A. D. 1264.

The chance of war at the battle of Lewes, had thrown the King of England and his son Edward, into the hands of the earl of Leicester.§ To subdue the only enemies which were now able to resist his arms, that general marched towards the Borders of Wales, and carried Henry with him as a pageant of state; thinking that the presence of his Sovereign would give a sanction to his own proceedings, A. D. 1264. 47th of Hen. 3.

* Holinshead, p. 266. Stowe's Chron. p. 193. Mat. Paris, p. 851.

† Rymer, p. 775, 780. ‡ Ibid. p. 782, 783, 784.

§ Mat. Paris, p. 853.

and contribute to the credit and support of the confederacy. Sir Roger Mortimer, and the other lords engaged in the royal cause, expecting to be attacked by Simon de Montford, had broken down the bridge at Worcester; and having destroyed the ferry-boats on the Severn, they encamped on the opposite banks of the river.* These precautions prevented the earl of Leicester from penetrating farther than Worcester. The entrance into the country was soon opened by Llewelyn, his friend and his ally; who, by a sudden inroad upon the English Border, diverted the attention, and weakened the operations of the lords of the marches.†

The confederate army, under the command of the two leaders, having left Prince Edward a prisoner in the city of Hereford; ravaged the estates of Sir Roger Mortimer; and taking the castles of

* Chronica, T. Wykes, p. 68.

† Brady, p. 618. Annal. Waverleiensis, p. 220.

Hay and Ludlow, proceeded to Montgomery.* An admonitory bull was issued A. D. 1265.
by Ottobani the legate to the Welsh Prince; requiring him to restore the castles which he had taken, and to withdraw from the confederacy. This mandate did not produce the desired effect. The lords of the marches, therefore, yielding to a superior force, and desirious of obtaining the liberty of Edward, submitted to the earl of Leicester. They agreed to surrender to him their estates and their castles, and to relinquish the realm for one year.† Soon A. D. 1265.
after this treaty, a general peace was concluded between Llewelyn and the earl of Leicester, at a conference which they held for that porpose at Hereford.‡

In the course of the late transactions, David the brother of the Prince of Wales, deserting the duty which he owed to his sovereign, had fled into England, and had

* Mat. Paris, p. 854.

† Brady. p. 648.

‡ Rymer, p. 814.

engaged in the interests of Henry. And taking an active part against the confederates, in conjunction with Lord Audley, and with other Barons in the Marches, he was defeated at Chester, with considerable loss.* Though levity of temper, and a turbulent spirit, have hitherto directed the conduct of this Prince, and disgraced the tenor of his life, a ray of returning virtue will brighten its declining period.

Dissatisfied, no doubt, with the late peace, Prince Edward, who, since his captivity, had resided in the English Court at Hereford, escaped out of the power of the Earl of Leicester.† The young Prince was instantly joined by the Lords of the Marches; who, recovering the possession of their own fortresses, made themselves masters of all the country between Hereford and Chester.‡ By

* Welsh Chron. p. 326.

† Chron. Thomas Wykes, p. 67.

‡ Mat. Paris, p. 855. Rymer, p. 810.

a sudden and rapid movement of the enemy, Leicester found himself surrounded by different bodies of troops. In this situation, he had no other resource, than to throw himself into the arms of Llewelyn. That Prince, resolving to make every advantage of the present conjuncture, demanded, as the only condition of affording him protection, a full restitution to the inheritance and the dignity of his ancestors. Under the sanction of the King's name, the sovereignty of Wales was restored to Llewelyn, with the homage of all the Welsh barons; he received a grant also of the lordship of Whittington and the hundred of Elesmere; with the castles of Matilda, Harwarden and Montgomery.* To strengthen the union, and to render it more lasting, the earl of Leicester made an offer to the Prince of Wales of his daughter Eleanor de Montford. This alliance coincided too well with his pre- A. D. 1265. 48th of Hen. 3.

* Rymer, p. 814. Annal. Waverleiensis, p. 219.

sent and future views to be rejected by Llewelyn.*

There is often a turn in human affairs, arising from sudden contingencies, which neither sagacity can foresee, nor power can prevent; and which, if taken up with spirit and wisely conducted, leads on to prosperity, and marks in the agent a considerable degree of political wisdom. Thus Llewelyn obtained in a fortunate moment, by his own spirit and judgment, acting on the nice and peculiar situation of Henry, the sovereignty of Wales, and an extension of territory; objects which many of his ancestors, the most able and brave, had negociated and fought for in vain.

In consequence of this treaty, Llewelyn made an inroad into Glamorgan, the territory of the earl of Gloucester; he

* Chronica de Mailros, p. 234. Annales Waverleiensis p. 219.

likewise sent a body of the Welsh to form a junction with Leicester, to enable him to extend his quarter, or to force his way through the enemy.* Leicester reaped no advantage either from the diversion made in his favour, or from the Welsh forces which had joined him. Having retired to Newport, he was there invested by Edward; and was so powerfully assaulted by that Prince, that his ruin must have been inevitable, had he not stolen away with his army in the dead of night; which, being very stormy, favoured the enterprise. He had the good fortune to escape from the enemy, and to arrive within the territories of Llewelyn. The manner of living to which the Welsh were accustomed, chiefly on flesh and milk, and without much bread, not agreeing with his soldiers, his army daily consumed away. To preserve the remainder, Leicester was forced to relinquish the country; and traversing through woods and

* Thomas Wykes, p. 68, 69. Annales Waverleiensis, p. 219.

mountainous roads, he at length with much difficulty made good his retreat, and regained his former situation at Hereford.*

A. D. 1265. 48th of Hen. 3. The victory obtained by Prince Edward at the battle of Evesham,† gave liberty to Henry his father, and restored the tranquillity of England. But the death of Montford, the enlivening spirit of the whole, was a fatal blow to the confederacy. After some slight resistance, the malecontent barons laid down their arms, and submitted to King Henry; their spirit being entirely subdued, or softened down by the moderation of his conduct. The English monarch had now leisure to look back on the part which had been acted by Llewelyn. He had seen with a jealous eye that Prince, through the

* Chron. Thomas Wyke, p. 69.

† The Welsh, who had reinforced the army of the Earl of Leicester, accustomed to a more desultory kind of war, fled very early from the field of battle, and were pursued with great slaughter. Henry de Knyghton, p. 2453.

course of the war, ably fomenting the discontents and powerfully assisting the arms of the revolted lords; and it was now determined, before the army was disbanded, that the Prince of Wales should feel the whole weight of Henry's resentment.*

In pursuance of this design, the King of England came with an army to Shrewsbury. Llewelyn, without an ally to support him, was not able to resist so formidable an enemy; and, rather than to hazard his crown, the lustre of which he had lately restored, upon an issue so precarious and unequal, he thought it more prudent to appease Henry's resentment by an early submission.†

A treaty in consequence took place, by the mediation of Ottobani, the legate, which marked the mild tenor of Henry's temper, and was more favourable to Llewelyn's interests, than might have A. D. 1267.

* Brady, p. 663. Mat. Paris, p. 857. † Ibid.

been expected from a sovereign, warm with resentment, and giving law to a rebellious vassal, and a suppliant enemy. The conditions of the treaty were the following: That all lands should be restored on both sides, and that the laws or customs of the marches should still be preserved: That Henry should grant unto Llewelyn, and to his heirs, the principality of Wales; that they should always be stiled the Princes of Wales, and should receive the homage and fealty of all the Welsh Barons, who were to hold their estates of them in capite, except the homage of Meredydd ap Rhys, of South Wales, which the King reserved to himself and his heirs. The King likewise granted to Llewelyn the four inland cantrevs, to hold them in as absolute a manner as ever the King and his heirs had possessed them. For these privileges, Llewelyn and his successors were to swear fealty, to do homage, and to perform the usual services, due to the King and his heirs, as they had been paid at any time to the crown of England; and

he was also required to pay to the King twenty-five thousand marks.* The peace was concluded at the castle of Montgomery, and ratified by the King in person; and it likewise received, at the hands of the legate, the sanction of the Pope's authority.† It is with pleasure that we survey this gallant nation, so long the sport of fortune, and the victims of ambition, recover, in some degree, the importance of their station; and, freed at length from the arms of a potent enemy, left to enjoy their freedom, for a season, in the bosom of their native mountains.

A. D. 1267.

The state of affairs in England no longer requiring his presence, Prince

A. D. 1268.

* Hen. de Knyghton de Even. Ang. p. 2436. Mat. Westm. p. 164. Rymer, p. 843, 844. Mat. Paris, p. 857, says £32,000. Welsh Chron. p. 327.

† Ibid.

‡ In this year [A. D. 1270] died Gryffydd, the lord of Dinas-Bran, and was buried in the abbey which his father had erected in the Vale of Crucis, near Llangollen. Welsh Chron. p. 327.

Edward engaged in a croisade to the Holy Land,—hurried along by that fatal tide, which had for almost two centuries deluged the east. On that elevated stage his splendid talents enabled him to perform a graceful and distinguished part. And during the time that this Prince was employed in Syria, in a romantic pursuit after glory, the Welsh nation enjoyed a season of unusual tranquillity,—a delusive calm, which was no more than the presage of impending calamities.

Having composed the intestine divisions which had long convulsed his kingdom, and in the bosom of peace, died Henry the third, King of England. His eldest son Edward at this time fighting in Palestine, succeeded to the throne.

A. D. 1273. 56th year of his reign.

On the death of the late King, a summons was immediately dispatched by the regency of England to Llewelyn Prince of Wales, with orders from him to repair to the Ford of Montgomery; and there to take the oaths of fealty and allegiance to

the absent King. Llewelyn thought proper to pay no obedience to the summons.* And some time after, the English monarch himself, matured in the arts of policy, and renowned for exploits in arms, returned into his own dominions, where he early entered upon that career of glory, so beneficial to his own empire, but so fatal to Wales.† A. D. 1273. A. D. 1274.

Soon after the arrival of that Prince in London, he was solemnly crowned at Westminster. The King of Scotland, as the feudatory of Edward, did homage to the English monarch, and, with the Duke of Bretagne, graced the coronation with his presence.‡ To perform the like duties of homage and fealty, the Prince of Wales received a summons to appear immediately at Shrewsbury; but he refused to quit his dominions, and to venture his safety in

* Rymer, vol. II. p. 2, 3.

† Mat. Westm. p. 171.

‡ Ibid.

the territories of a monarch so hostile to him, unless hostages were given for the security of his person. The pledges he demanded were, Edmund the King's brother, the Earl of Gloucester, and the Chief Justice of England.* This refusal was rendered still more disagreeable to Edward, as he was likely to be deprived of another fruit of vassalage; for Llewelyn seemed, at this time, determined to solemnize his marriage with Eleanor de Montford, though he had not obtained the King's consent.† The Pope, likewise, appeared so sensible of the justice of his plea, that he inhibited the Archbishop of Canterbury from issuing any papal censure against Llewelyn.‡ When the nature of his situation is considered, the caution of the Welsh Prince was justified upon the principle of self-preservation.

* Rymer, p. 41. J. Rossi, Ant. Warw. p. 162.

† Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2462. Welsh Chron. p. 328.

‡ Rymer, vol. II. p. 35. Mat. Westm. p. 171.

In the bosoms of the two princes, jealousy and hatred had long mingled with the love of glory and the desire of dominion. David and Roderic, the younger brothers of the Prince of Wales, were entertained in the Court of England: many Welsh chieftains, also, who had fled from the justice of their country, were under the protection of Edward; and, influenced by every motive of hope and despair, must have been anxious to promote the destruction of their sovereign: Llewelyn, likewise, too well remembered the fate of his father Gryffydd, to place any confidence in the protection or honour of the English.* He surely, then, when interest and hatred conspired his ruin, would have been guilty of folly and rashness in the extreme, if he had hazarded a life, of such importance to his country, on no better security than the courteous ideas of the age, or the fluctuating principles of political integrity.

* Rymer vol. II. p. 35.

The King of England was now in a delicate situation; he was unwilling to relinquish his claim of vassalage, and yet was not at present sufficiently prepared to enforce it by arms. But his genius directed him to pursue a wise and a middle line of conduct. He repaired, late in the year, to Chester, and summoned Llewelyn to do homage at Shrewsbury; but the Welsh Prince still continued firm in his refusal to appear without a safe conduct, and hostages for the due observance of
A. D. 1275. it.* Early in the next year, a parliament was held at Westminster, and the Prince of Wales was again summoned to make his appearance in that assembly, and to take the oaths of allegiance.† He refused also to pay obedience to his summons on the grounds which he had heretofore alledged.‡

Engaged in correcting the disorders of the kingdom, and instituting salutary

* J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 163. Rymer, vol. II. p. 57.
† Ibid. ‡ Holinshead, p. 278.

laws, Edward, for the present, affected to dissemble his resentment against Llewelyn; and repairing to Chester, he again summoned the Welsh Prince to do homage,* who still refused his compliance. He likewise rejected three other mandates of the like nature; one of which was dated in October in the same year, and the two others very early in the same year following.† To justify these refusals still more, to the clergy and to the world, he sent a memorial by the abbots of Conway and Strata-Florida, to be delivered into the hands of the archbishops of York and Canterbury, and of other bishops who were then assembled in convocation.‡ There is a native simplicity which runs through the whole of the memorial,§ reciting his grievances and justifying his conduct, which pleads more ably the cause of the Welsh Prince, than could

* Rymer, vol. II. p. 57.

† Ibid. p. 68.

‡ Wynne's History of Wales, p. 280. Welsh Chron. p. 329, 330.

§ See Appendix, No. II.

have been effected by the exercise of the finest talents.

The tenor of Edward's conduct with respect to Llewelyn, did not delude the sagacity of that Prince. He saw, that a blow was meditating by the English King, which, though suspended for a time, would be the more severe, and would fall with greater weight upon his country, from the coolness, the delay, and increasing power of that firm and sagacious monarch.

Llewelyn, therefore, thought it prudent, at this time, to fulfil an engagement which he had formerly made; and to enter into an alliance with a family, which might yield him support against the formidable power of his rival. In the course of the late war, he had been betrothed to Eleanor the daughter of Simon de Montford, and niece* to King Henry; and

* Her father Simon de Montford, espoused Eleanor, dowager of William earl of Pembroke, and sister to Henry the third. Mat. Paris, p. 314.

who, at that time, it is probable, was too young to solemnize the marriage. On the death of her father, the young lady had retired into the monastery of Montargis in France. In this court her mother the countess of Leicester, and her brother the heir of the family, lived in great splendour.* The adherents of the house of Montford were still powerful in England; and the fame of the English monarch, had made him the object of jealousy with the French King. To unite the views of the two parties in support of his interest, or struck with the reputation of her charms, now rising into full beauty, the prince of Wales demanded of the King of France the daughter of the late earl of Leicester. Philip with much facility granted his request; and Llewelyn waited in impatient expectation of his bride.† But the pleasing ideas, which the prospect of his approaching nuptials

* Polidore Virgil, p. 321. Mat. West. p. 171. Chron. T. Wykes, p. 104.

† Ibid.

afforded to Llewelyn, were on a sudden imbittered by disappointment, and lost in the ruder avocations of war.

A. D. 1276. Early in this year, the young lady, who was cousin to the English King, attended by her brother Amaury, a clergyman, set sail for the coast of Wales, to solemnize her marriage with Llewelyn; but near the isles of Scilly she had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by four ships from the port of Bristol, and was conveyed to the Court of England. Instead of yielding up this lady into the hands of her lover, which the ideas of the age might have suggested, and which prudence too, as well as the laws of chivalry, demanded, she was detained in the English Court, in an honourable attendance on the Queen.* Her brother, likewise, was kept in confinement many years in the castles of Corfe and Sherburn; nor did he at length obtain his liberty, until demanded by the Pope as his chaplain; and after he had

* Annales Waverleiensis, p. 231, 232.

taken an oath that he would relinquish the realm, and would never be concerned in any commotion in the kingdom.*

After so decisive a conduct, as the detention of Eleanor de Montford, all lenient measures, and the arts of expediency were weak, delusive and fruitless. Edward now determined to exert every effort, which his power and his talents afforded, to obtain, what had long been the object of his ambition or policy, the entire conquest of Wales. Before measures were taken to carry this design into execution, the archbishop of Canterbury, with other prelates and lords of the realm, desired Edward, that as the last expedient, he would afford to Llewelyn one other opportunity of acknowledging the sovereignty of England, and of yielding to its orders unconditional obedience. With this design, the archdeacon of Canterbury was sent into Wales, with an injunction to the Welsh Prince, that he

* Rymer, vol. II. p. 144, 193, 197.

should appear in the English court, and should there perform the customary duties of a vassal.* But at this time Llewelyn was in arms, and had ravaged the English Borders; resenting the late conduct of Edward, and alive to the feelings of an injured Prince, deeply wounded by the captivity of his much loved Eleanor.†

The archdeacon of Canterbury was ordered to make his report to the parliament ensuing, which was to be held on the
A. D. 1276. thirteenth of October. In the mean time the Prince of Wales sent letters to the King, signifying that he would come either to Montgomery or Oswestry to perform his homage; provided a safe conduct was allowed him, under the sanction of the archbishop and archdeacon of Canterbury, the bishop of Winton, and five other English lords‡ He likewise de-

* Rymer, vol. II. p. 68.

† Polidore Virgil, p. 321. Holinshead, p. 278.

‡ Rymer, vol. II. p. 68.

manded that the King should confirm the articles of peace which had been concluded between Henry the third and himself; and that he should deliver into his hands Eleanor de Montford, the lady to whom he was contracted, as well as her retinue; all of whom, he asserted, had been detained in custody contrary to faith of nations.* These just and simple demands excited in the English parliament a general indignation. They granted a fifteenth of moveables to enable the King to reduce Llewelyn by force of arms; the prelates, likewise, gave him a voluntary subsidy; though their zeal in this instance did not rise above their prudence; as they made a provision, that in future it should not be drawn into precedent. In the presence of the English monarch, sitting in his court, with the lords of his council, the judges, and a great number of bishops, earls, and barons, the whole

* Rymer, vol. II. p. 68.

A. D. 1276. process was read on November the twelfth; and sentence was pronounced upon Llewelyn for contumacy, for violation of the peace between him and the late King, and for the hostilities which he had lately committed in the marches. It was there determined to proceed against him as a contumacious vassal, and as a traitor to his sovereign. It was likewise resolved in the same assembly, that all the military tenants of the crown should be summoned to appear at Worcester, on the midsummer following, with horses and arms, suitably equipped for an expedition into Wales; that in the mean time, the marches should be well guarded, and the forts supplied with ammunition; that the King should prohibit all his subjects in England, Ireland, and Guienne, from holding any correspondence with Llewelyn, or his adherents; from giving him any assistance, or supplying them with any provisions; and whoever violated this prohibition, was to be adjudged an adherent to the public

enemies of the King and kingdom, and to suffer accordingly.*

The authority of the church of Rome was not silent on this solemn occasion. In this instance the Prince of Wales experienced the versatility of her conduct. The Archbishop of Canterbury sent a letter to Llewelyn, and threatened him with the severest censures which the clergy were able to inflict; and a few months after, his person was excommunicated, and his dominions laid under an interdict.†

In the late negociation, the Prince of Wales had offered to the English King a large sum of money as a ransom for Eleanor de Montford. Edward, on his part, refused to restore her, unless the Welsh Prince would reinstate the former

* Hen. de Knyghton Event. Ang. p. 2462. Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 185, from Pat. 4. Ed. I. m. 6. Rymer, vol. II. p. 72, 75.

† Rymer, vol. II. p, 71, 79.

proprietors in the possession of those estates which he had lately taken from them, and would also repair the castles he had demolished.* However ardent his desire of obtaining possession of the lady might be, the duty which he owed to his country prevailed, and Llewelyn rejected the proposal with disdain. Upon which, the two Princes proceeded in their preparations for war.

A. D. 1276 2d of Edw. I. Early in the spring, Edward had sent into the marches a detachment of three hundred horse, well appointed, to check the incursions of the Welsh, and to guard the confine.† He likewise made Sir Roger Mortimer general of his forces in the counties of Salop and Hereford, and in the adjacent countries. He appointed the first day of July for his military tenants to assemble at Worcester.‡

* Mat. West. p. 172. Annales Waverleiensis, p. 231.

† Ibid. p. 172. Ibid. p. 232.

‡ Rymer, vol. II. p. 72.

The experience of past ages had proved to the English kings, that a want of public virtue in its chieftains had been the vulnerable part of Wales. To seduce them from their duty, at this crisis, was of too much importance to be neglected by Edward. With a view to encourage a defection among the Welsh lords, orders were given to the Earl of Warwick, and to Payen de Chaworth, the one commander in Cheshire, and the other in South Wales, to receive into favour such of Llewelyn's adherents, as were willing to submit to the authority, and become the vassals of the King of England.* The policy of Edward fatally prevailed. Rhys ap Meredydd, the lord of Dinevawr, descended from the ancient princes of South Wales, set the example of disloyalty, on the only condition of holding his territory immediately from the King, and not being subject to any other lord.† The defection of so eminent a chieftain as Rhys ap Meredydd had a fatal in-

* Rymer, p. 72, 81. † Ibid. p. 81.

fluence in the country: all the lords in
A. D. 1277. South Wales followed his example; and, as a voluntary fruit of their submission, the strong fortress of Stratywy was given up to the English, who, for the better defence of the country, erected a castle at Aberystwyth.*

The æra is now at no great distance, which is to mark the close of the ancient British empire. And considering the weak and disunited state of the Welsh, and their unequal resources, the operations of Edward, in conducting the war, planned in wisdom, and carried on with vigour, must, in the nature of things, ensure its success.

Soon after Easter, Edward left London, to regulate the measures of the ensuing campaign, in the full resolution never to return, until he had entirely subdued the Welsh nation. He directed a fleet from

* Welsh Chron. page 334, 336. J. Rossi, Ant. Warw. p. 162.

the Cinque Ports to cruize on the coast of Wales, with a view of intercepting the commerce of the enemy, and of reducing the island of Anglesey, that the Welsh, by such means, might be deprived of their usual resources of procuring provisions.* At the same time, he sent a body of troops into South Wales, to reinforce the army under the command of Payen de Chaworth, in order to distract the enemy's attention, and reduce that country to a perfect submission to the English government.† Each of these manœuvres produced the desired effect. That the administration of justice might not be delayed by the absence of Edward, and the length of the war, he removed the Court of Exchequer, and the Court of King's Bench, to Shrewsbury.‡

These measures being taken, the King of England, on the midsummer following, advanced, at the head of a large army, A. D. 1277.

* Brady, vol. II. p. 7. † Welsh Chron. p. 324.
‡ Mat. Westm. p. 172.

into Cheshire, intending to penetrate the enemy's country through that part of the frontier which borders upon the Dee. His forces were likewise increased by numbers of country people, who joined him in the marches, and who, it is probable, were usefully employed as pioneers to the army, in opening roads through a deep forest, which in general extended from the confines of Cheshire to the mountains of Snowdun.* During this tedious operation, Edward encamped his forces upon Saltney Marsh, near Chester.† While he remained in this situation, he rebuilt the castle of Flint, and more strongly fortified Rhuddlan castle, to secure the country which he had already subdued, and to afford his army a safe retreat, in case he should meet with any disaster.‡ The roads at length being

* Thomas Wyke, p. 105. Brady, vol. II. p. 7.

† Brady, vol. II. p. 7. Guthrie, vol. I. p. 888.

‡ Hen. de Knyghton, Event. Ang. p. 2462. Thomas Wykes, p. 105.

finished, and no enemy appearing to molest them, the English advanced through the level part of the country to Conway. The Prince of Wales, unable to resist a powerful enemy, pressing on by slow, cautious, and decisive operations, retired to the mountains of Snowdun.* The English monarch, not choosing to enter the recesses of that difficult country, calmly waited the result of his policy.

With a fatality which had usually attended the princes of his family, Llewelyn had trusted the safety of Wales to the chance of war, and to the natural strength of the country, which had so often baffled the armies of England—unable to subsist long in a region brcken by rocks and rivers, woods, and barren mountains. Not preparing for contingencies, nor observing the measures of the English King, nor the effects already produced, he had neglected to furnish with necessary sup-

* Mat. West. p. 173. Thomas Wyke, p. 105.

plies of provision an important post, to which he and his people, in their deepest distress, might be forced to retire.* The experience of past ages might have taught him the wisdom of a different conduct. Had he pursued such measures, which the nature of his situation required, he might have seen the English army wasting away, and, at the approach of winter, abandoning all its conquests, and leaving him once more in possession of his country. The talents of Llewelyn, at this perilous crisis, sunk under the genius of his rival. There might be strong reasons, however, of which the annals of the times are silent, to excuse, in the Welsh Prince, a conduct so fatal to his interests.

The prospect which opened to Llewelyn upon the mountains of Snowdun, was dreary and desolate. His enemies were masters of the country below, and seemed determined, by their perseverance, to

* Thomas Wyke, p. 105.

starve him into submission. The island of Anglesey, his usual resource for provisions, was then possessed by the English.* No diversion could be made in his favour in South Wales or in England, as the former country had lately submitted to Edward's authority; and in the latter, the adherents of the house of Montford* were satisfied by having had their forfeited estates restored. The distress of Llewelyn was heightened still more by the prospect of an immediate famine.‡

Thus surrounded by dangers, he had no better alternative than to implore the mercy of the English King. A magnanimous Prince, like Llewelyn, the freedom of his country being lost, would scarcely have wished to survive its ruin; if the sufferings of his people, crowding around him, and perishing by famine, had not

* Thomas Wyke, p. 105.

† Guthrie's Hist. Eng. vol. I. p. 887

‡ Thomas Wyke. p. 105.

claimed his pity, and inclined him to hazard his own interests and personal safety from a tender regard to theirs. It is possible, too, the Welsh Prince might hope, that in the event of some future day, he might again rise upon the wheel of fortune.

In this state of his affairs, the Prince of Wales sent to propose an accommodation with the king of England. There was little generosity or pity to be expected in the terms which would be offered by Edward. As a first and a necessary condition of the peace, it was required of Llewelyn, that he should submit to the mercy of the conqueror.* On this basis, the peace was concluded on the following terms; and afterwards ratified, in the absence of the King, at Conway, by the commissioners of the two Princes.† It was agreed, that all prisoners who were confined by Llewelyn, for adhering to the English cause, should be set at liberty.

* Rymer, vol. II, p. 88, 95, 97. † Ibid.

That the Prince should pay to the King fifty thousand marks, as a compensation for the injuries which had been committed, and for being received into favour. That four cantrevs should be given up to the King, and remain with him and his heirs for ever.* That the adherents of the English King should be restored to all the estates which they had possessed before the war. That the Welsh Prince should continue to hold the island of Anglesey, and should pay for that privilege the annual sum of one thousand marks; but if he should die without issue, the island was then to revert to the King and his heirs for ever.† That all the barons in Wales

* J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 163. Mat. Westm. p. 873. Annales Waverleiensis, p. 232.—These were the cantrev of Rhos, in which stood the castle of Diganwy; the cantrev of Rhyvonioc, the chief place of which was Denbigh; the cantrev of Tegengl, where stood the castle of Rhuddlan; the cantrev of Dyffryn Clwyd, in which were erected the town and castle of Ruthyn. Welsh Chron. p. 334.

† Chron. T. Wykes, p. 106.

should hold their territories immediately of the King, except the five barons in Snowdun, who should acknowledge the Prince as their lord during his life. That Llewelyn should come into England every Christmas to do homage to the King. That he should repair to Rhuddlan as soon as he was absolved from the censures of the church, to take the customary oath of fealty to the king; and likewise that he should perform the same duty in London on the day appointed for that purpose. That he should enjoy, during his life, the title of Prince of Wales; and that after his death, the five barons of Snowdun should hold their estates of the English King. That for the performance of these articles, the Prince should deliver as hostages ten of the most eminent chieftains in Wales. That Llewelyn should send every year twenty chieftains out of North Wales, who, with himself, should take their oaths for the due performance of these articles. If the Prince should infringe any of them, and on being admonished,

should refuse to redress the same, they were then obliged by their oaths to forsake his cause, and to take part with his enemies.* As a personal humiliation to Llewelyn, he was likewise obliged to restore to his brother Owen the estate he had forfeited; and to pay Roderic an annuity of one thousand marks and five hundred to David.† Owen by this treaty was also delivered from the confinement in which he had been long kept by Llewelyn. His brother Roderic had lately escaped out of prison, and had fled into England. David, whom we have heretofore mentioned, was at this time in the service of the English King, who had made him a knight, contrary to the custom of the Welsh; and had given him likewise in marriage the daughter of the earl of Derby, a handsome widow, and of the Queen's bed chamber,‡ whose husband

* Annales Waverleiensis, p. 232. J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 163, 164. Rymer, vol. II. p. 88, 90, 91.

† Rymer, vol. II. p. 88—95.

‡ Hen. de Knyghton, de Event. Ang. p. 2463, 2464.

was lately dead. He had been appointed the seneschal, and keeper of all the castles in Wales; and received also from the King the castles of Denbigh, and of Frodsham in Cheshire, with land to the yearly value of one thousand pounds.*

The terms agreed upon, at this treaty, in favour of the Prince of Wales, were as follows: That if he should lay claim to estates which were occupied by any other person than the King, out of the limits of the four ceded cantrevs, justice should in that case be administered according to the laws and customs of those parts where such estates should lie: That all injuries and faults committed on either side should be entirely remitted, and should receive a full pardon: That all tenants holding land in the four cantrevs, and in other places in the holding of the King, should possess such as freely as they formerly had done, and should enjoy such customs

* Welsh Chron. p. 335. Rymer, p. 89. Annales Waverleiensis, p. 232.

and liberties which appertained to them before the late wars: All controversies arising between the Prince of Wales and any other person should be decided by the laws of the marches, if taking their rise in those parts; and any dispute originating in Wales should be determined by the laws of that country: That the advantage arising out of wrecks, on his own territories, should belong to the Welsh Prince; and all other customs should be confirmed to him which had been enjoyed by his ancestors. And although the Prince had thus submitted entirely to the King's mercy, it was agreed that no injury should be committed, nor any demand ever made, contrary to the tenor of the peace.* The English King, it is true, relaxed in some degree from the severity of the treaty, and remitted to Llewelyn the fifty thousand marks, which he was to have paid as a compensation for the ravages committed

* Welsh Chron. p. 346, 347, 348.

in the late war; he also remitted the yearly tribute of one thousand marks, which he had exacted from the Welsh Prince, for the privilege of holding during his life the island of Anglesey.*

Having thus, in the late fortunate campaign, completed, as he might think, the entire conquest of Wales, Edward returned into England amidst the applauses of his subjects. His pride, no doubt, was gratified, and his triumph received additional lustre, by the attendance which Llewelyn gave him to the English Court, where the Welsh Prince did homage and swore fealty to him, on Christmas day, in the presence of many prelates, and of all the nobility of England.† But an in-

* Rymer, vol. II. p. 91, 92. But it appears from Holinshead, p. 277, that Edward, during his residence at Rhuddlan, received from the Prince of Wales two thousand marks.

† Rymer, vol. II. p. 96. Mat. Westm. p. 173. Chron. T. Wyke, p. 106.

cident, of no moment in itself, resulting from the late event, and acting with other causes, produced a change in affairs of the highest importance to Wales.

The barons of Snowdun, with other chieftains of the most considerable families in Wales, accompanying their Prince to London, had brought with them large retinues, as was the custom of their country, and who were lodged in Islington, and the adjacent villages. Many causes conspired to make their situation disagreeable. These places did not afford a sufficiency of milk for such numerous trains: and they relished neither the wine nor the beer of London. Though entertained with plenty, they were not pleased with their new manner of living, which suited neither their taste, nor perhaps their constitutions. They were still more displeased with the crowd of people who attended them whenever they came out of their quarters; eyeing them with the utmost contempt as savages, and laughing at

their foreign garb and unusual appearance.* To be made the subject of derision, and to be pointed at by the finger of scorn, in their various journies through England, at the will of an arbitrary lord, could not be pleasing to a people, proud and irascible; and who, though vanquished, were still alive to injury and insult, to a sense of their own valour, and to the fond idea of their native independence. Resenting this treatment, and feeling their dishonoured situation, they privately entered into a resolution to revolt on the first opportunity; determined to die in their own country as freemen, rather than to come any more as vassals into England, to be the sport of a haughty and contemptuous nation.

It was now manifested that Edward intended, on the death of Llewelyn, to

* Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 191. from MS. No. 39, inter MSS. Thomas Mostyn, baronetti, p. 315.

unite to the English crown the country which he had lately subdued. A popular delusion stood in the way of his views. An idea had been fondly kept up in the imaginations of the Welsh, that the celebrated Arthur was still alive, that he was one day to return, and restore to the remnant of the ancient Britons the empire of their fathers. To set aside this idle fancy, cherished by the vulgar, and which might have been fatal at this juncture, Edward and Eleanor his Queen, early in the year, undertook a journey to Glastonbury, where the remains of that venerated hero lay interred.* Under colour of doing honour to this British King, and affording his bones a more magnificent interment, Edward ordered the body of Arthur to be taken out of its cofin, and with the remains of Gweniver his Queen, to be exposed to public view.

A. D. 1278.

* Malmsbury de Antiq. Glaston. Ecclesiæ, p. 306. Gales Scriptores.

They were then reposited near the high altar; with an inscription on the coffin, signifying, that these were the remains of Arthur; and that they had been viewed by the King and Queen of England, in presence of the Earl of Savoy, the elect bishop of Norwich, besides several other noblemen and clergy.* It is easy to discern the policy of this Prince even in the smaller traits of his character.

During the King's residence at Glastonbury, a parliament was held in that place; at which meeting Llewelyn was summoned to appear, with the probable design, that he and his retinue, having seen the late ceremony exhibited, might not carry into their own country the least hope of advantage, from so vain and whimsical a fancy. To this summons,

* Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 187. from Regist. Glastonbury penes Dom. Weymouth, p. 93. Annales Waverleiensis, p. 233. Stowe's Chron. p. 200. Guthrie's Hist. England, vol. I. p. 889.

however, the Prince of Wales did not think proper to pay obedience.*

It is easy to conceive that Edward, alive to his interests and jealous of his power, would be eager to check the contumacy of a vassal in Llewelyn's situation. To enforce his obedience, the King, attended by Eleanor his Queen, repaired to Worcester; from whence he sent an order to the Welsh Prince to appear at his court, and to account for his late conduct. The rigour of this summons was softened by an invitation to a royal feast which was to be held in that city; with an assurance, too, that he should be treated with honour, and that the lovely Eleanor de Montford should be the reward of his obedience.† There was a decision in this mandate, which love would not suffer him to evade, nor pru-

* Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 187. from Regist. Glast. penes Dom. Weymouth, p. 93.

† Welsh Chron. p. 348.

dence to disobey, and which soon brought Llewelyn to the English court; where a scene was exhibited, from which every eye must turn with disdain, that is directed by a feeling and liberal spirit. The prelude to this scene was the performance of a rigorous ceremony. Being introduced into the presence of Edward, the Prince of Wales fell upon his knees at the feet of that monarch, and yielded himself up to his mercy; he was then commanded to rise, and, in consideration of his dutiful demeanour, the King was pleased to pardon his delinquency; at the same time declaring, that if he again presumed to rebel, he should be punished with the utmost severity.* Relying on the honour of a great monarch, and duped by his artifice, we see Llewelyn, a Prince of a gallant spirit, and the brave descendant of a line of independent Sovereigns, become amenable to usurped power.†

* Henry de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2462.

† Welsh Chron. p. 348.

Having now succeeded in his views, and, as he thought, having rendered Llewelyn docile in the duties of vassalage, Edward gave him back the hostages which he had lately received; and also delivered up to him Eleanor de Montford, with the estate which had been the property of her father.* On this occasion, Llewelyn engaged to appear twice in the year before the English parliament.† The marriage was celebrated on the thirteenth of October, the expense of which was defrayed by Edward; and, as a farther mark of his favour, the ceremony was graced by the presence of the King himself and his Queen.‡ But on the very day that the marriage was to be solemnised, and in consequence, as Llewelyn and his bride were going to hear mass, the English King required of that Prince that he

A. D. 1278.

* Rymer, vol. II. p. 125. Henry de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2462.

† Henry de Knyghton, p. 2462.

‡ Holinshead, p, 277. Thomas Wyke, p 107. Mills's Catalogue of Honour, p. 310.

should enter into a covenant, never to protect any person whatever contrary to his pleasure. The rigid sentiments of duty, put to so severe a trial, were too weak to subdue in the bosom of the Welsh Prince the feelings of nature. Alive to love and its keen sensibilities, and in fear no doubt for his liberty or life, the firmness of the gallant Llewelyn sunk under their influence. The enamoured Prince, besides conceding to other requisitions, signed a covenant; which loosened every tie of confidence, and which might in future give up to the resentment, or to the interested views of Edward, the most faithful adherent to his interests.* It is only from a motive of personal dislike, for it could not have arisen from any just principle of policy, that we were able to account for the insult which was offered to Llewelyn; in detaining this lady so long in the English court, and impeding the views of honourable love. In these

* Welsh Chron. p. 348.

traits of Edward's character, we see no traces of heroism; no resemblance of the courteous manners, which distinguished the most cultivated period of the feudal ages.

As soon as the ceremony was finished, Llewelyn, with his amiable wife, returned into Wales; to soothe the asperity of adverse fortune in the enjoyment of domestic felicity.

Few incidents occur at this period in the national concerns of Wales. The spirit of the people, pressed down by the rigour of a foreign government, wanted its usual activity. Regretting the freedom they had lost, but too weak to recover it, they were silent and dejected. But the spirit of the Welsh, though depressed and rendered inactive for a time, urged by despair into manly efforts, will soon recover its native spring; and, armed with its wonted terrors, will exert itself again in the fields of war.

The calamities, of a public nature, which surrounded Llewelyn, were rendered more bitter by domestic sorrow, in the severe loss which he sustained by the death of his wife Eleanor de Montford,* who at this time died in childbed. It seems as if this lady, through her influence with the hostile princes, and by soothing their angry spirits, had given a check to the ravages, and had suspended the horrors of war.† Her death loosened the only tie of union subsisting between the two nations.

A. D. 1280.

We have already noticed that the deepest disgust had been excited in the breasts of those chieftains who had attended Llewelyn into England; and that, in consequence, they had determined to throw off their allegiance. As soon as these chieftains returned, they diffused

* Mills's Catalogue of Honour, p, 310.

† Henry de Knyghton, de Event. Ang. p. 2462. Baker's Chron. p. 95.

this spirit throughout Wales, and it became the common cause of the country. Other motives, of a nearer and more essential concern, assisted to fix more deeply that spirit. The Welsh, in the newly-subdued country, had early began to taste, in the conduct of their master, the bitter fruits of submission. It was the design of that Prince, by one decisive blow, to leave them not a trace of their ancient jurisprudence. When Edward heretofore possessed these countries, by the grant of his father, he had thrown them into districts, like those of the counties of England,—had appointed sheriffs, with power to hold courts,—had instituted other officers,—and had sent English judges to administer justice. On the recent submission of the Welsh, he revived these institutions. It is strange that a wise Prince should urge on so violent a conduct, before the lenient power of time had softened their spirits. For, to tear up old habits, which are dear to a people, is often an enterprise of danger. And when laws are imposed at

the point of the sword, they are always received with hatred, and must be maintained by force. The Welsh, as was natural, surveyed the design with indignation and horror. Attached to the customs of their fathers, they determined to receive neither laws nor manners, judges nor juries, nor any institutions which were derived from the English.*

The Prince of Wales, in his own person, had cause to complain of injuries the most humiliating and poignant,† of which the following was an instance.—There was a suit depending between him and Gryffydd ap Gwenwynwyn, respecting an estate which he held of the King, and lying in the marches. He was highly displeased with an order he had received from the judges, to attend the hearing of

* Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 191, from MS. No. 39, inter MSS. Roger Mostyn, Baronetti, p. 315.

† Welsh Chron. p. 346, &c. See Appendix, No. III.

that suit at Montgomery,* contrary to a custom established in Wales and in the marches, that all causes of this nature should be tried on the very land which was the subject of dispute. The tenor of the late treaty likewise justified Llewelyn's refusal. Though the judges sent down were men of honour and integrity, he could not be prevailed upon to repair to Montgomery, concluding that such a

* It appears that Llewelyn was summoned by King Edward to repair in person to different places, in order to receive judgment respecting the above-mentioned suit.—Welsh Chron. p. 346. And it is highly probable, duiing this time, that the following remarkable circumstance took place. Edward being at Aust Ferry, on the Severn, and knowing that the Prince of Wales was on the opposite side, sent him an invitation to come over the river, that they might confer together, and settle some matters in dispute. This being refused by Llewelyn, Edward threw himself into a boat, and crossed over to the Welsh Prince, who, struck with the gallantry of the action, leaped into the water to receive him, telling the King, at the same time, that his humility had conquered his own pride, and that his wisdom had triumphed over his own folly. See Tour through Great Britain, vol. II. p. 305. London printed, 1753.

measure would yield up an essential article of the peace, and would derogate from his dignity as a sovereign prince.*

The idea that this demand might in future be drawn into precedent, awakened at last Prince David to a sense of his own situation, who might hope to succeed to the sovereignty of Wales upon the death of his brother. He had himself already experienced many causes of complaint, of fear, and of jealousy, respecting the property which he held under Edward.† He was sued by William Venables, an Englishman, before the justiciary of Chester, for the villages of Hope and Estyn, contrary to the custom of Wales, and the spirit of the agreement under which he had held them of the English King. That officer, likewise, had cut down his woods of Lleweny, with those about Hope, and had sold the timber, and carried it into Ireland. He was also threatened, when Reginald de

* Rymer, vol. II. p. 172. Leges Walliæ, p. 524.
† See Appendix, No. IV.

Grey, the other justiciary, came into the country, that the castle of Hope should be taken from him, and that his children should be secured as pledges of his fidelity in future.* Many chieftains, the most eminent in the country, had likewise much reason to complain of injuries which they themselves had received.† The rigorous exactions of the English officers in Wales, partial and oppressive, and repugnant to the manners of the people, heightened their sufferings to an insupportable degree.‡

In this season of national misery, when their common fate depended solely upon a virtuous union, the Welsh chieftains besought Prince David that he would be reconciled to his brother Llewelyn, calling on him by every incitement which might act upon a brave or an angry spirit, to desert the cause of a merciless ravager, to retrieve the honour he had lost, to A. D. 1281.

* Welsh Chron. p. 350, 351.

† Welsh Chron. from p. 351 to 363.

‡ Mat. Paris, p. 805. Welsh Chron. p. 336.

return to the duty which he owed his country, and to shield her in the hour of her danger. The sentiments of David were agreeable to the wishes of his countrymen, and his present views congenial with their own. Feeling for those miseries which in some measure he himself had produced, and a ray of patriotism springing up in his bosom, he consented to be reconciled to his brother, and to engage in the common cause.* Sensible of the peril which awaited him, if success did not justify the revolt, or too suspicious of Llewelyn to confide in his firmness, he required from that Prince an assurance that he would never again yield obedience to the English King, nor would ever relax in his enmity against him.† This condition being agreed to by Llewelyn, Prince David withdrew privately from the Court of England, and arrived with safety in Wales.‡

* Welsh Chron. p. 337. † Ibid.

‡ Grafton's Chron. p. 165. Polidore Virgil, p. 323.

The concert being made for a general insurrection, David opened the campaign by a gallant exploit, which was performed late in the evening of Palm Sunday. In the night, which was dark and stormy, he took by surprise the castle of Hawarden; the governor of which, Roger de Clifford, and who was also the justiciary of Wales, was taken in his bed, and, mortally wounded, was carried away prisoner in chains to Snowdun; several knights residing in the fortress, though unarmed, were put to the sword in the fury of the storm. After this action, the two brothers Llewelyn and David, having joined their forces, invested the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan; the only fortesses which were then in the possession of the English.* These exploits were regarded as the signals of revolt. The Welsh rising from every quarter, in a moment were in arms. The spirit of their fathers seemed to animate every bosom. Rhys ap Maelgwyn and Gryff-

A. D. 1282. 8th of Edw. I.

* Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464, says, that they slew all the masons, carpenters and other workmen empoyed in these fortresses.

ydd ap Meredydd surprised the castle of Aberystwyth, and ravaged the present counties of Caerdigan and Carmarthen. Many chieftains, likewise, obtained possession of other fortresses in South Wales. Numerous parties of the Welsh, all on fire for revenge, poured on a sudden upon the marches of England; and, like the inundations of their native rivers, in rapidity and violence, spread all around devastion and ruin.

At this time the King of England was at the Devizes, where he was keeping his Easter;* not suspecting the event which had happened, nor fearing the efforts of an irascible people, whose feelings had been urged into a dangerous extreme. The revolt of the Welsh Prince determined the conduct of the English monarch. Instead of waiting the slow issue which time, or luxury, or mildness might produce, he once more determined to make an entire conquest of Wales; and

* Thomas Wykes, p. 110. Holinshead, p. 281.

totally to extinguish that spirit of freedom, which, rising at times into dangerous exertion, not all the efforts of his policy and power had as yet been able to subdue. All other concerns were now laid aside; the credit of Edward, his talents, and the strength of his kingdom, were rendered subservient to this great design.

Previous to his military operations he dispatched letters to the two archbishops, commanding them to issue spiritual censures against the Welsh Prince, and all his adherents.* John Peckham archbishop of Canterbury, before he proceeded to extremities, unknown to the King, as it is said, and apparently in the true spirit of benevolence, undertook a journey into Wales, to endeavour to recal Llewelyn, and the Welsh chieftains, to a sense of their duty.†

* Rymer vol. II. p. 188.

† Polidore Virgil, p. 323. Holinshead, p. 281. Welsh Chron. p. 338.

In the mean time, Edward sent a part of forces to the relief of those castles, to which the Welsh Prince had laid siege; and he also issued out orders that his military tenants should assemble at Worcester, on the seventeenth of May.* He obtained from the nobility and prelates a promise of a fifteenth of their moveables, and afterwards a thirtieth.† The clergy, likewise, gave him a twentieth of their temporalities, to enable him to carry on this popular war.‡ As these aids could not be raised so soon as the service might require, he borrowed money of all the trading towns in England, which was to answer his present necessities; and he desired a like loan out of Ireland from the merchants, the prelates, and nobility of that kingdom.§ Such was the esteem in which Edward was held, that Gaston de

* Brady, vol. II. p. 6. Grafton's Chron. p. 165. Chron. T. Wykes, p. 110. Rymer, vol. II. p. 189.

† Brady, p. 11. 96.

‡ Carte's Hist. Eng. p. 192, from Chr. Dunstable.

§ Rymer, vol. II. p. 220.

Bern * desired to have the honour of serving in the Welsh expedition, and even the Scots, on this occasion, offered their services, little thinking that they themselves would soon become the victims of that Prince's ambition.† The barons of the exchequer, and the judges of the King's Bench repaired to Shrewsbury, with orders to hold their courts in that town during the continuance of the war.‡ A nation like the Welsh, small in extent, and scattered over a few barren mountains, rise into importance as we view these mighty preparations.

As soon as he had concerted his measures, the King of England began his march, at the latter end of April, for the confines of Wales. Finding that the war was likely to become more difficult than he had at first conceived, he issued out summonses from Worcester, that all his A. D. 1282. 8th of Edw. I.

* Rymer vol. II. p. 206.
† Guthrie, vol. I. p. 895.
Annales Waverleiensis, p. 235.

military tenants should meet him at Rhuddlan in the ensuing month of June; the prelates of England, and twenty four abbots holding of the crown, were also included in these orders to send thither their services.*

Edward, on his march to Chester, was joined by the country people who inhabited the Borders, and whom he employed as before, in opening roads through the enemies country.† After staying a fortnight in Chester to refresh his troops, he invested, about the middle of June, the castle of Hope. This fortress, which for some time had been in David's possession, was yielded up to the King, almost as soon as he appeared before it.‡ On the approach of Edward, the Welsh Princes raised the siege of Rhuddlan castle, and retreated slowly towards Snowdun, thinking it more prudent to seize

* Rymer, vol. II. p. 188, 199. † Ibid. p. 207.

‡ Carte's Hist. England, vol. II. p. 193, from Annales Cestrensis,

every opportunity of cutting off his detached parties, than with unequal force to fight him in the open field.* The retreat of Llewelyn, for the present, was of little advantage to the enemy; like that of a lion, it was slow, sullen, and full of danger. Seizing a favourable opportunity, he put to flight a detachment of the English army; fourteen ensigns were taken in the action, the lords Audley and Clifford, the son of William de Valence, Richard de Argenton,† with many others were slain, and the King himself, defeated and in disgrace, was obliged to retire for protection in Hope castle, the fortress he had lately taken.‡

It was not until the latter end of autumn that Edward was able to perform any action of moment. In the middle of July that Prince resided in the castle of Rhuddlan, and issued orders from thence to the

* Welsh Chro. p. 337. † Chro. T. Wykes, p. 110.

‡ Welsh Chron. p. 372, from Thomas Walsingham. Camden's Brit. p. 688.

sheriffs of the neighbouring counties, to to send him, in proportion to the extent of each, a number of hatchet men, who were to cut down the woods, and open passages for his army, before it could advance any farther with convenience or safety.* He also gave grants to several of the English barons, of land in the four cantrevs, the late ceded country, adding the incitement of interest to the national zeal in his service.†

During these transactions, the archbishop of Canterbury had come, a second time, into Wales, and had sent a monitory letter to Llewelyn and all his adherents, in which he reproved them for their late revolt, urged them to return to their allegiance, and desired that they would point out their grievances, for all of which, if justly founded, he would endeavour to obtain them redress. At the same time he held out a menance, that in case of contumacy, they would draw upon themselves

* Guthrie's Hist Eng. vol. I. p. 895.
† Annales Waverleiensis, p. 235. Welsh Chr. p. 364.

the severest censures of the church, besides all the power of an irritated nation.*

In answer to this letter, Llewelyn, assisted by his council, thought proper to send a memorial dated from Aber,† in the latter end of October.‡ In a strain of eloquence, mild and persuasive, and which might do honour to a more polished age, he recited the various evils which he himself and his country had sustained from Edward's ambition, and the rapine of delegated power, and with a firmness, softened by piety and meekness, he demanded that justice, from the rights of nature, and from the spirit of the treaties subsisting, which the King of England had hitherto denied him.§

The like memorials were sent by David the brother of the Welsh Prince, by the men of Rhos, by Rhys Vychan of Strath-

* J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Chro. T. Wykes, p. 110. Welsh Chro. p. 338—342. See Appendix, No. V.

† *Garth Celyn.* ‡ See Appendix, No. VI.

§ Welsh Chron. p. 340—350.

Tywy, by Llewelyn and Howel the sons of Rhys, by the sons of Meredydd ap Owen, by the chieftains of Strath-Alyn,* by the men of Penllyn, by Gronw ap Heilyn, and by the nobles of Englefield.† It was likewise declared by Llewelyn and his council, that if their grievances were redressed, if their native laws and rights were preserved, and if their safety in future might depend upon the tenor of the late treaty, that they were willing to enter into a lasting peace with England.‡ There is a force in these recitals, thus arranged and authenticated, expressive of the wretched situation of the Welsh,—all of them complaining of injuries, of the violation of treaties, and of the power of the *mighty* over the *weak*.

As soon as Llewelyn and the Welsh

* *Ystrad Alun.*

† See Appendix, No. VII—XV. Welsh Chron. p. 350—364.

‡ Welsh Chron. p. 343, taken from the Records of Canterbury.

chieftains had delivered these memorials, in justification of their revolt, the Archbishop returned to the King, and urged that Prince to attend to their complaints, and to redress their wrongs, or at least, he desired, that the idea of these complaints being justly founded might in some measure extenuate their faults. The answer returned by the English Prince was, that though there was no excuse to be found for their conduct, yet he was still desirous of doing justice to their complaints. Availing himself of an answer, which carried with it the appearance of mildness, the Archbishop requested the King that the complainants might have free access to his presence, to unfold their griefs, and to plead their own cause. The reply which Edward made was dark and evasive, and unworthy of so great a Prince; he said, "that they might freely come, and depart, if it should appear that in *justice* "they ought to return in safety." *

* Welsh Chron. p. 363, 364.

On the strength of this answer, arbitrary as it was, and the deepest danger lurking within it, the Archbishop repaired again to Snowdun, to renew the negociation with the Prince of Wales, in hopes of prevailing on him, by proper submission, to avail himself of what that prelate conceived to be, or might wish to represent as the gracious disposition of the King.* Llewelyn and his council were not caught in the snare which was laid for their safety. They clearly saw into the designs of the English monarch. They saw, at this moment, all that was dear to men and to citizens at stake,—their lives, their families, their country—its liberties and laws, with the customs of their fathers: and they saw, too, that this was the crisis for manly resistance.

Impressed with such sentiments as these, it was not likely that any argument, delusive or friendly, which was in

* Welsh Chron. p. 364.

the power of the Archbishop to offer, could accomplish his views, or could shake the firmness of Llewelyn and his council. After much conference on the subject, debated with a spirit and seriousness suited to its importance, he was desired by the Prince of Wales to return to his sovereign with this generous and manly declaration; "that, as the guardian "of his people's safety, his conscience "alone should direct his submission; nor "would he consent to any compliance "which might derogate from the dignity "of his station." We easily conceive that the pride of Edward was wounded, and his indignation excited, by a reply so little expected, though so worthy of a patriot Prince. On its being reported to the English King, he declared, "that no "other terms should be in future offered "to the Welsh, than the entire and un-"conditional submission of Llewelyn and "his people." *

* Welsh Chron. p. 364.

Sensible that the Prince of Wales would never recede from the the resolution he had formed, the archbishop of Canterbury interceded with the King, that on a subject of such weighty concern, he might have a conference with those noblemen, who at that time were present in the English army. Edward consented that such a conference should be held; the result of which was, that three separate proposals should be sent to the Welsh Princes, and to their council, as the only basis on which any peace could be established.*

During this negociation, the Prince of Wales remained in his palace at Aber, and the Welsh Army, it is most probable, was stationed on the heights above upon Penmaen mawr.†

* Welsh Chron. p. 364.

† It is considered as the strongest fortification which the Welsh possessed in the mountains of Snowdun, and capable of containing 20,000 men. See Camden's Britain. Gibson's edit. p. 673.

The first of these proposals, which was ordered to be read in public before the two Princes and the chieftains assembled in council, signified, that no treaty whatever could take place respecting the island of Anglesey, the four cantrevs, and the estates which were already granted by the King to the English lords; that if the tenants of those cantrevs should think proper to submit to their sovereign, they should, in that case, be treated in a manner becoming the *majesty* of the King. In respect to Llewelyn, no terms whatever were offered to him; he was to yield himself up without any condition.*

The second proposal was to be presented in secret to the Prince of Wales, and was no doubt intended as a snare to his honour.† It was there proposed, that he should yield himself up to the mercy of Edward, and should quietly relinquish

* See Appendix, No. XVI. Welsh Chron. p. 364, 365.

† Appendix, No. XVII.

the possession of Snowdun; as a cordial, however, to be thrown into the bitter cup, the English nobility promised to prevail, if possible, with the King, that he should provide for Llewelyn's daughter suitably to her station; that he should allow him one thousand pounds a year, and a respectable county in England. If that Prince should marry again, and should have heirs male, they promised to entreat the King that this annuity, and the said county, should be settled on those heirs for ever, and that the King should also provide for the adherents of the Welsh Prince in a manner suitable to their estates and conditions.*

The third proposal was intended to seduce or to intimidate David from his duty, and it was ordered that in the like manner it should be read to that Prince in secret.† If he would consent to take

* Welsh Chr. p. 365. See Appendix, No. XVI.

† See Appendix, No. XVIII.

the *Cross*, and to go into the Holy Land, he should have a provision made for him agreeable to his quality; on the condition, however, that he should *never* return from thence, unless he should be recalled by the King; and as a further inducement, the negociators also promised to entreat their sovereign that he should provide in a suitable manner for his daughter.*

The concessions expected from Llewelyn, the singular requisition made to Prince David, and the general submission demanded from all, were enforced by the terror of ecclesiastical censures, and in case of disobedience, a menace was thrown out, that the Welsh nation should be entirely exterminated. Such were the conditions of peace proposed by an interested nobility, and wanting as they did the sanction of Edward, though immediately formed under his influence, they were mean, perfidious, and arbitrary; or at least, they carried with them a dark and suspicious aspect.

* Welsh Chron. p. 366.

It was not in the nature of Llewelyn, when the dearest concerns of his people were mingled with his own, to entertain an idea of interest exclusive of theirs, or to engage with the common enemy in any secret intercourse, or partial negociation. The proposals sent by the archbishop, were openly discussed in the presence of Llewelyn, of his brother David, and of the chieftains who composed his council. The result of which was, that three different memorials should be returned to that prelate, which would declare their sentiments of the terms which had been offered, and would convey to the English monarch their last, solemn, and decisive determination.

In a style of simplicity which might have carried conviction to the mind, the Prince of Wales informed the archbishop,* that the terms he had brought, were neither honestly intended, nor could they be safely confined in, that though he himself,

* See appendix, No. XIX.

through weakness or interest, should be inclined to listen to the separate advantage proposed, his people and all the chieftains in Wales, aware of the mischievous tendency, would refuse their consent, as not being bound to yield up their rights to any mean compliance in their Prince: He desired likewise, as the means of establishing an honest and durable peace, that the archbishop would have respect to the memorials which were then sent by himself and by his council: He said too, that it would have been more honourable to the King, and more agreeable to reason, if he had been permitted to continue on the land of his fathers, rather than that his territories should be wrested from him, and should be given to foreigners.*

With a force of reasoning, resulting from a manly and discerning spirit,† the Welsh chieftains who formed the Prince's council, declared, that no peace could be

* Welsh Chron p. 368.

† See Appendix, No. XIX.

made, unless the four cantrevs were included in the treaty, as they had always belonged to the Princes of Wales from the earliest period of their history, and were also confirmed by the sanction of the Pope, and by the treaty with Henry the third. The tenants of those cantrevs likewise declared, that they did not dare to submit to the King, as he had neither kept covenant, nor oath, grant, nor charter, with the Prince, nor with his people. Llewelyn's council told the archbishop, that they themselves, for these reasons, were afraid to come into the presence of the King; much less would they suffer their prince to hazard his personal safety: They rejected also the annuity of one thousand pounds, as being offered by men, who were attempting to wrest from Llewelyn his hereditary dominions, and which they were desirous of enjoying themselves: They said, that it would neither be consistent with prudence nor his duty, for their sovereign to relinquish his native demesnes, and to accept of other territories in England, unacquainted as he

was with its laws and customs, its language and manners; that he must likewise hold those estates, situated amidst his enemies, on a very precarious tenure: They added, likewise, that it was not probable that the King, desirous of taking from him his barren inheritance in Wales, would long allow him to enjoy the cultivated land of England: They declared that they would not suffer their Prince to give up to the King the possession of Snowdun, appertaining to his sovereignty from the earliest times, and meanly to accept of what might be thought an equivalent in England: The people of Snowdun also declared that though Llewelyn should relinquish his own rights, that they themselves would never do homage to foreigners, with whose habits of life they were entirely unacquainted, lest they should be as cruelly treated as the inhabitants of the four cantrevs had been; a recital of whose injuries had already been sent to that prelate.* The spirit

* Welsh Chr. p. 368, 369. See Append. No. XX.

of a free constitution, in restraining the will of the sovereign, is diffused through the whole of this interesting memorial.

There is something peculiarly touching in the memorial sent by Prince David.* He said that when he felt himself disposed to visit the Holy Land, his motives should be pure and voluntary—influenced by a spirit of piety, and not enforced by the arbitrary will of another. Devotion that is forced, he said, is displeasing to God: and if ever he should undertake such a journey, his posterity should be rather rewarded for their father's piety, than that they should, on that account, have their inheritance taken from them. It was not the Welsh, he said, who were the movers of the war; no lust of avarice, no rage for conquest, on their part, began it; they had only defended their own country, their liberties and laws, against the avarice, the cruelty, and hatred of the

* Appendix, No. XXI.

English King and his people. For the truth of which, he solemnly appealed to God; calling on him to avenge their wrongs, and to vindicate their cause. He forbad the Archbishop to fulminate his censures against any but those who had been the cause of these enormities; and as the Welsh had suffered such evils at the hands of the King's officers, he hoped that they should receive at *his* hands remedy and comfort. "Very many "do marvel," said he, "that *you* do coun-"sel us to leave our own land, and go "to other men's lands among our enemies "to live; for, as we cannot have peace "in our own country, what reason have "we to hope that we shall remain in "quiet in that of our enemies? Though "it be hard to live in war and danger, "it is still more hard," said he, "to be "utterly destroyed, and be brought to "nothing. The fear of death, the fear "of imprisonment, the fear of having "our estates torn from us, no keeping "of promise, covenant, grant, or charter, "in short, a most tyrannical dominion,

" are among the many causes which " urge us to war." To the remedy of these evils he desired of the archbishop his pious and charitable aid. He concluded this moving address, by saying, " If any person in England offends the " King, his estate is not taken away; if " one of our own people should commit " a fault, let him be punished agreeably " to justice, but not entirely to his ruin. " As we trust in *you*, we pray you holy " father, to labour to this end. If they " lay to our charge that it is we who " have broke the peace, it is evidently " clear, from facts, that it is they, and " not we, that are in fault; they who " never kept promise, or covenant, or or- " der, or made any satisfaction for tres- " passes, or remedy for our complaints"* It is with pity and admiration that we see a band of heroes and patriots, stationed

* These memorials were taken from the Records of John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, who was Edward's ambassador on this occasion. Welsh Chron. p. 371.

upon their only mountain, calmly and firmness asserting their rights, and making their last struggle for freedom. The scene is solemn and interesting; and, in many points of resemblance, presents the image of Leonidas in the Straits of Thermopylæ.

All conference was now at an end; the late negociation had clearly shewn that the sentments of the two powers were entirely incompatible. No longer pursuing, in the spirit of benevolence, the rights of this injured people, the Archbishop of Canterbury pronounced them accursed, and thundered against them the whole force of ecclesiastical judgments.

During these transactions the roads being opened, and his reinforcements arrived, Edward about the first of November left Rhuddlan,† and advanced to

* J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Welsh Chron. p. 371.

† Chron. T. Wyke, p. 110.

Conway; near which town he stationed his army in advantageous situations. His horse were encamped on the plains which lay at the foot of the mountains of Snowdun, with a view of securing the avenues of the country to the east and to the south, and the infantry were posted on the sides of the hills under cover of the woods.* The treaty being ended, and not able to bring the enemy to action, Edward ordered a strong detachment of marines and other forces, in the vessels of the Cinque Ports, to take possession of Anglesey. The manœuvre was wisely planned, the success of which would not only deprive the Welsh of the advantage of that island, as a source of provisions, but would also confine them in narrower limits, and by dividing their attention, would facilitate his entrance into the country. This service was performed with all imaginable success; the island was easily taken; the chief persons in it having supported the interests of Edward, agreeably to the oaths

* Polidore Virgil, p. 323. Holinshead, p 281.

which they had taken at the late peace.* With a view of obtaining possession of the mountains upon the rear of the enemy, or of forming a junction with the other part of the army, in the very heart of their country; preparations were made to pass the water of Menai, which runs between Anglesey and the coast of Caernarvon.

There is a point of land, nearly opposite to Bangor, called Moel-y-donn, where the water is much narrower than in other parts of the Straits. From this place, the English formed a bridge of boats which were chained together, and over which a platform of boards was raised, wide enough for sixty men to march in front.† To counteract this design, the Welsh threw up entrenchments, at some dis-

* Welsh Chron. p. 371. P. Virgil, p. 324. J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 165.

† Welsh. Chron. p. 372. Holinshead, p. 281. Annales Waverleiensis, p. 235. Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464.

tance, on their side of the river, to check the enemies advance, and to secure the passes into their mountains.* Before the bridge was entirely finished, a party of English, attended by the Gascon lords, who, with a body of Spanish troops, were then in the service of Edward; despising the Welsh for the easy conquest of Anglesey, passed over the Menai at low water, with a considerable force; to reconnoitre their works, or to give a display of their own valour. Richard ap Walwyn, who commanded in these posts, knowing that the tide would soon flow, and cut off the enemies, retreat to the bridge, remained quiet within his entrenchments, and neither opposed their passage, nor molested their advance up into the country.† As soon as the Menai had risen so high, as to prevent any communication with the island, the Welsh in great multitudes

* Carte, vol. I. p. 193.

† Welsh Chron. p. 372. Guthrie, vol. I. p. 896, from Liber Peterburgi.

rushed down from the mountains, assaulted the enemy with loud outcries, and pursued them with great slaughter into the water, in which many were drowned, encumbered with the weight of their armour. Fifteen knights, thiry-two esquires, and one thousand common soldiers were slain and perished in the Menai. Among others who fell in this day's disaster, were Lucas de Taney the leader of the foreign troops, William de Dodingeseles, and William de la Zouch. The lord Latimer, who commanded the English in this detachment, had the good fortune to recover the bridge by the stoutness of his horse.*

This disaster was a severe check to the views of Edward. His situation was now become critical, humiliating, and danger-

* Holinshead, p. 281, says that only two hundred foot soldiers perished. Guthrie's Hist. Eng. p. 896, from Liber Peterburgi. Welsh Chron. p. 372. Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Hen. de Knyghton Event. Ang. p. 2464. Mat. Westm. p. 176.

ous: Besides the loss he had sustained, the winter was in advance; his two armies could have no communication by land; the design, likewise, of a diversion was rendered impracticable. The Welsh, high in spirits, and masters of the defiles, were strongly entrenched on their mountains; the castle of Snowdun was filled with soldiers, and furnished with plenty of provisions,* and they had seen, too, that even Edward and his foreign troops, with all their stratagems of war, were not invincible. This success they regarded as a presage of future prosperity. Their hopes began to revive, and their views to extend, which were heightened still more by a prophecy of Merlin, long cherished among the Welsh, that Llewelyn should one day wield the sceptre of Brutus, the supposed founder of their empire.† It is

* Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464. Grafton's Chron. p. 165.

† Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Brady, vol. II. p. 9. Matth. Westm. p. 176. Annales Waverleiensis, p. 235.

possible, too that the Welsh Prince, himself, might indulge the same hopes, from a like delusive source, the prediction of a soothsayer. When he first began the revolt, he consulted an aged woman, who was a reputed prophetess, respecting the issue of the war, who advised him to pursue the enterprise with spirit, and assured him also, that in the event he would ride through Cheapside in London with a crown upon his head.*

In this state of things, unable to advance, and too proud to relinquish the design, Edward retired to Rhuddlan.† From this place, on the twenty-fourth of November, he issued out summonses to the sheriffs of Norfolk and Suffolk, to the following effect. "Whereas Llewelyn, the "son of Griffydd, and other Welshmen "his accomplices, our enemies and re-"bels, have so often, in the times of us

A. D. 1282

* Holinshead, p. 282.

† Brady, vol. II. p. 10.

" and our progenitors, disturbed the peace
" of England, and do still continue in
" the same course, and for that, by the
" advice of our great men, and the whole
" community of the land, we propound
" finally to repress their rebellion and
" instability, so as it shall not be in
" their power to disturb the peace of
" the nation when they please, although
" that it seems to be a very great charge,
" and a most difficult undertaking: We
" therefore command that you cause to
" come before us on the twentieth of
" January, at Northampton, or before
" our commissioners, all those of your
" bailiwick that have twenty pounds
" a year, and upwards, who are able
" and fit to bear arms, and who
" are not present with us, in our ex-
" pedition against the Welsh, and four
" knights of each county, for the commu-
" nity of the same counties, having full
" power from them, and also of every
" city, borough, and market town, two
" men for the commons of the same, to
" hear and do things, which, on our

"behalf, we shall cause to be shewn unto "them." The like precept was sent to the sheriff of every county in England, with this difference only, that the people, so ordered by the writs of the counties of York, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, and Lancaster, were to assemble at York. The clergy and prelates of England were also required to perform their services, in carrying on this necessary war.* The nature of these precepts, and the warlike appointments so extensive, mark the eager spirit of Edward, as well as the idea which that Prince entertained of the difficulty and importance of the enterprise. But an event happened soon after, sudden and unforeseen, which closed with glory the life of Llewelyn, and decided the fate of the Welsh nation.

The Earl of Gloucester, assisted by Sir Edmund Mortimer, had been sent with an army into South Wales, to reduce

* Biady, vol. II. p 10.

that country, and to check the depredations of Rhys ap Maelgwyn, and Gryffydd ap Meredydd, the two chiefs who had taken up arms in favour of Llewelyn, and had ravaged the present counties of Caerdigan and Caermarthen. These chieftains, a little time before, had been defeated by the Earl of Gloucester, near to Llandeilo-Vawr, with the loss only, on the enemy's part, in persons of note, of five knights, and of William de Valence, cousin to the English monarch.*

The late success of the Welsh, in the action of the Menai, had set on fire their enthusiastic spirit; they considered it as a miracle which had been wrought in their favour. Confident, on the faith of the ancient prophecies, that, in the person of Llewelyn, the empire of their fathers would be restored, they urged that Prince to act with intrepidity, to seize this for-

* J. Rossi, Ant. Warw. p. 165. Welsh Chron. p. 372. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 60.

tunate moment, and to assault the English in their turn, separated and dispirited by the loss which they had lately sustained.* Llewelyn thought this an enterprise of too much importance, to engage in it without farther reinforcements, which he was not without hopes of receiving, as he had entered into a large correspondence with many of Edward's subject in the marches, and in South Wales.† In hopes, by these means, of drawing together a great body of troops, to enable him to strike so decisive a blow; or by his presence to reanimate his party, he determined to go into South Wales. Thinking the quarter of Snowdun safe for the winter, he left his brother David to guard the passes of those mountains, and the Prince of Wales himself, with a body of forces, marched to the aid of his adherents who favoured his cause in that country;‡ where, having

* Mat. Westm. p. 176. P. Virgil, p. 324. Brady, vol. II. p. 9.

† Guthrie's Hist. Eng. p. 897.

‡ Ibid. Annal. Waverleiensis, p. 235. Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Mat. Westm. p. 176.

overrun the territories of Caerdigan and Strath-Towi, he ravaged the estates of Rhys ap Meredydd.*

The King, having intelligence of the sudden movement of the Welsh Prince, dispatched orders to Oliver de Dineham, and other noblemen in the West, to pass over the mouth of the Severn to Caermarthen, and to give their support to his generals in that country.†

Llewelyn, having so far succeeded in his enterprise, proceeded with his forces to the cantrev of Buellt, where, by agreement, he was to hold a conference with some of the lords of that district.‡ As he had not any thing to fear from the southern quarter, his only anxiety was to secure the principal pass into the country, that no danger might arise from the north.

* J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Welsh Chron. p. 373.

† Rymer, vol. II. p. 223.

‡ Welsh Chron. p. 373.

With this design, having posted the main part of his army on the summit of a mountain, near the river Wye, he stationed a body of troops at a bridge, called Pont Orewyn, which commanded the passage over that river.* Having thus secured himself, as he thought, from the sudden attack of any enemy, the Prince of Wales, unarmed, and attended by his esquire alone, proceeded into the valley, where it had been agreed upon that the conference should be held.† There is every reason to suppose that the design was betrayed by the very lords whom Llewelyn had appointed to meet.‡ In a moment after his departure, the bridge was attacked by John Gifford, and Sir Edmund Mortimer, at the head of a body of men who were natives of Buellt, the latter nobleman, or his father, being lord of that country.§ The post was maintained

* Holinshead, p. 281.

† Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2464.

‡ Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 59. Welsh Chron. p. 373.

§ Welsh Chron. p. 373.

with such spirit by the Welsh, that the English lords were not able to make any impression, until Helias Walwyn, who was probably a native of the country, decided the contest, by pointing out to the enemy a passage through the river, though somewhat dangerous, which lay below, at a little distance from the bridge.* A detachment was sent under the conduct of Walwyn, to ford the river, and with some difficulty they made good their passage. Assaulted in the front and rear, the Welsh relinquished their post, and the remainder of the English army passed over the bridge.†

The Prince of Wales, all this time, was waiting in a small grove, the place which had been appointed for the meeting of those chieftains, with whom he was to hold the conference. On the enemy's first assault, his esquire came to inform him that he heard a great outcry at the

* Holinshead, p. 281. Welsh Chron. 373.

† Ibid.

bridge. The Welsh Prince enquired with eagerness if his soldiers were in possession of that post; and being informed that they were, he calmly replied, "he then "would not stir from thence, though the "whole power of England was on the "other side of the river." This confidence, not improperly placed, lasted only for a moment, the grove being in an instant surrounded by the enemy's horse.* Beset on the every side, and cut off from his army, Llewelyn endeavoured, as secretly as he could, to make good his retreat, and to join the troops which he had stationed on the mountain, who, drawn up in battle array, were eagerly expecting the return of their Prince. In making this attempt, he was discovered, and closely pursued by Adam de Francton an English knight, who, perceiving him to be a Welshman, and not knowing his quality, plunged his spear into the body of the Prince of Wales, being unarmed

* Welsh Chron. p. 374.

and incapable of defence.* This being done, regardless of the person he had wounded, Adam de Francton instantly joined his own army, which was then ascending the mountain to dislodge the enemy from their post.† The Welsh, on this occasion, were steady, and acted with great spirit, neither animated by the presence of their Prince, nor dispirited by a knowledge of his fate. They poured upon their enemies, as they advanced up the mountain, a shower of arrows and darts; but the English having placed bodies of archers in the intervals of their horse, annoyed them in their turn, and at length obtained the summit.‡ The action continued doubtful for more than three hours, and was maintained on both sides with great resolution and valour,§ until at

* Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2464. Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 60. Welsh Chron. p. 374. Holinshead, p. 281.

† Ibid.

‡ Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2464. Welsh Chron, p. 374. Holinshead, p. 281.

§ Polidore Virgil, p. 324.

length the Welsh were obliged to give way, were entirely defeated, and left two thousand men,* a third of their number, dead on the field. This action happened on the tenth of December.† A. D. 1282. 8th of Edw. I.

All this time Llewelyn had lain upon the ground, faint and almost expiring. He had just life enough remaining to ask for a priest; and a white friar, who chanced to be present, administered to the dying Prince the last sacred duties of his office.‡

The hurry of the action having ceased, Adam de Fracton, now at leisure, returned into the valley to strip the person he had wounded. On viewing the body, which was still breathing, it was found, to the great joy of the English army, that the dying person was no other than the

* Carte's Hist. England, vol. II. p. 194, from Chron. Dunstaple.

† Polidore Virgil, p. 324.

‡ Rymer, vol. II. p. 224.

Prince of Wales.* Upon stripping Llewelyn, there were found in his trowsers

* Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2464. Guthrie's Hist. England, p. 897. Welsh Chron. p. 374.——The following is the account preserved by tradition amongst the inhabitants of Buellt respecting this event:—Llewelyn had posted his army on a hill near Mochryd, a village about three miles below Buellt, on the south side of the Wye. On the north side of the river, two miles below Buellt, the Prince had a house called Aberedwy, to which he came for the purpose of conferring with some chieftains of the country. During his stay there, he was alarmed with the approach of some English troops, who probably had intelligence of his situation. The Prince, to extricate himself from the danger that threatened him, caused his horse's shoes to be reversed, to deceive his pursuers, as the snow was on the ground; but this circumstance was made known to the enemy, through the treachery of the smith; and they followed so closely, that Llewelyn had but just time to pass the draw-bridge at Buellt, which being drawn up secured his retreat. In the mean time, the English troops posted at Aberedwy had information of a ford a little lower down, called *Cefn Twm Bach,* which they crossed, and by that means came between Llewelyn and his army stationed at Mochryd. The only means of safety that now offered was to secrete himself. But the enemy were so diligent in the pursuit, that the

his privy seal, and a paper that was filled with dark expressions, and a list of names which were written in a kind of cypher; a letter or two was discovered at the same time, all of which evidently proved he had engaged in a confederacy with several lords, who were Edward's subjects in the marches.* A transcript of these was sent by Sir Edmond Mortimer to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was then in Pembrokeshire, and who transmitted them immediately to the King, as a necessary precaution to guard against their designs. But that Prince thought it not prudent to make any farther inquiries, being desirous of not adding to a

Welsh Prince was soon found in a narrow dingle, in which he had concealed himself, three miles north of Buellt, and about five miles from his army; and which place, from this event, was called *Cwm Llewelyn.* After Llewelyn was killed, they cut off his head, and buried him near the spot; and at some subsequent period a house was erected over his grave, which goes by the name of *Cefn-y-Bedd,* or, the top of the grave.

* Rymer, vol. II. p. 224.

flame, which he thought must now die away of itself.* No sooner had Llewelyn expired, than his head was cut off by Adam de Francton, and, as a gift of high value, was presented to the King, who at this time resided in the abbey of Conway.† The body of the Prince of Wales lay unburied for some time, though his friends were very solicitous that it might be interred in consecrated ground. The lady Matilda Longespee also, among others, interested herself for a decent interment. This indulgence, small as it was, was not allowed, until the dead body of the Welsh Prince had received absolution from the Archbishop of Canterbury, under the pretext that he had shewn signs of penitence, by having desired the assistance of a priest in his last moments.‡

Thus died Llewelyn ap Gryffydd, after a reign of thirty-six years, leaving only

* Rymer, vol. II. p. 224.

† Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2461. Welsh Chron. p. 374.

‡ Rymer, vol. II. p. 224.

one daughter.* The historians of the times are silent respecting the character or the personal qualities of this Prince. But the conduct of his life was the best illustration of his character. And if the valour of Llewelyn, his talents, and his patriotism, had been exerted upon a more splendid theatre,—on the plains of Marathon, or in the Straits of Thermopylæ, his name would have been recorded in the classic page, and his memory

* It appears that the daughter of Llewelyn, and the daughter of his brother David, were confined in a nunnery in England, as an order was sent by Edward, seven years after the death of their parents, to Thomas de Normanville, to enquire minutely into the state and safe custody of the said princesses. Rymer, vol. II. p. 429. This daughter of Llewelyn, and of Eleanor de Montford, called Catherine Lackland, was sent by Edward, attended by her nurse, to be educated in England. She was afterwards married to Malcolm, Earl of Fife. Llewelyn is also said to have had a son of the name of Madoc; but he must certainly have been illegitimate, as that Prince had been only once married. Mills's Catalogue of Honour, p. 310. It is most probable that David's daughter remained in England, and died a nun.

revered, as an illustrious hero, and as a gallant assertor of the rights of nature. But no trophies have been raised to celebrate his fame. The vindictive spirit or policy of his conqueror found an interest in burying amidst the ruins of freedom almost every trace or monumental record which might preserve the memory of this Prince, or perpetuate his glory. Gratitude, however, could pay no tribute so expressive as the tears which his country poured upon the tomb of their fallen sovereign. An elegy, composed by a Bard who lived in his court, in wild and in plaintive notes, and with a seemingly prophetic spirit, finely expresses their sorrow and despair.—"The voice "of lamentation is heard in every place, "as heretofore in Camlan.*—The copious "tears stream down every cheek; for "Cambria's defence, Cambria's munificent "lord, is fallen.—Oh Llewelyn, the loss "of *thee* is the loss of all.—At the thought "of *thee* horror chills my blood, exhausts

* The place where the great Arthur was slain.

"my spirits, and consumes my flesh.— "Behold how the course of nature is "changed! How the trees of the forest "furiously rush against each other!—See "how the ocean deluges the earth! How "the sun deviates from his course! How "the planets start from their orbits!— "Say, ye thoughtless mortals, do not "these things portend the dissolution "of nature?—And let it be dissolved.— "Let kind heaven hasten the grand "catastrophe.—Let a speedy end be put "to the incurable anguish of our spirits: "since now there is no place to which "we, miserable men, may flee: no spot "where we can securely dwell: no friend-"ly counsel: no safe retreat: no way by "which we can escape our unhappy "destiny."*

* Gryffydd ap yr Ynad Côch wrote the poem from which this passage is extracted; and if it were possible for a translation to transfuse half the excellence of the original, it would shew that the Bard was equally inspired with the true spirit of poetry, as affected by the fate of his beloved Prince.

HISTORY

OF

WALES.

BOOK IX.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF DAVID AP GRYFFYDD TO THE ENTIRE CONQUEST OF WALES, AND THE DEPARTURE OF EDWARD OUT OF THAT COUNTRY.

THE closing scene of the last book presented an interesting spectacle. We there saw a gallant and a patriot Prince after many efforts to preserve the freedom of his country, falling in the conflict, and finding an honourable grave in its ruins.

As soon as the head of Llewelyn was brought by Adam de Francton to the

English King, that Prince sent it to London, and that he might feast the eyes of his subjects with a novel and a savage spectacle, it was ornamented with a silver circle,* and placed upon the pillory† in Cheapside, in ridicule of the prophecy of Merlin, that Llewelyn would one day wear the crown of Brutus. In contempt also of the late prediction of the soothsayer, that this Prince would ride through Cheapside crowned with a silver diadem,‡ his head was encircled with a wreath of ivy,§ and, being fixed on the point of a spear, was carried through the streets by a horseman; it was then placed upon the highest turret in the Tower of London, where it continued for a long time.‖ To insult the remains of a fallen enemy, and a sovereign Prince, by devices which were mean and vindictive, and more suited to

A. D. 1282. 8th of Edw. I.

* Hen. Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2464.

† Guthrie, vol. I. p. 897.

‡ Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2465.

§ Mat. West. p. 176.

‖ Holinshead, p. 281.

the leader of a tribe of Arabs than a great monarch, denotes a mind in Edward insensible of true greatness, and a spirit little softened by civilized manners*

The late Prince, as the central spring, had drawn into one point the strength of the nation, had directed its movements, and had given them force and energy, but the spring being broken, all the parts became disunited, without motion, spirit, or efficacy. There is a kind of palsy which for a moment seizes upon the mind, when the hand of affliction strikes deep, and the blow comes unexpected. Before the Welsh had time to emerge out of that state of insensibility into which they had sunk on the death of Llewelyn, the King of England ordered his forces to make a farther advance, and to surround them

* This stricture is not designed to be applied in general to the character of Edward, it is only intended to mark, and with merited justice, the animosity and revengeful spirit, with which, to the last, he pursued the gallant but unfortunate Llewelyn.

more closely. His own army invested Snowdun on the side of Conway;* his troops in Anglesey, not having hitherto dared to make good their passage over the Menai, had now leisure to finish the bridge, and to penetrate the country on the side of Caernarvon,† a body of forces, also, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke, completed the investiture on the quarter towards South Wales.‡

David, all this time, in possession of castles and strong holds of the country, not choosing to risk a general engagement, remained quiet within his posts. Regarding himself as a sovereign of North Wales, on the death of his brother, he summoned the Welsh chieftains, his sub- A D 1283.

* Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Holinshead, p. 282.

† Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 59. J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 165.

‡ Carte, vol. II. p. 194. from Chr. Dunstaple Ann. Cestrensis.

jects, to meet him at Denbigh,* where he intended to hold a consultation on the common interests of his country, at this dangerous crisis. He afterwards renewed hostilities against the English, and appeared fully determined to vindicate his rights.† There was a fortress, called the castle of Bere, very strong by art and nature, and which was situated in Snowdun, in the midst of a morass, was accessible only by a single causeway, and not to be approached but through narrow and rugged defiles. This fortress David had provided with a strong garrison.‡ But so sunk in despair were the Welsh, as if all hopes of retrieving their fortunes had died with Llewelyn, that even this castle was surrendered to the King, after it had

* *Dinbech,* the present town of Denbigh.

† Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465.

‡ This fortress was probably the castle which is situated near the Lake of Llan Beris, the ruins of which still remain, and is called castell Dolbadarn, Thomas, Wyke's Chron. p. 111.

been closely invested for some time.* No farther resistance was made, every other fortress was immediately yielded up.† The Welsh, confounded and in dismay, fled on every side, to shelter themselves in caves, within the recesses of rocks, and in the deep woods of their country.‡

The passes being now left unguarded, Edward stationed his horse at the foot of the hills, and leaving in each defile a body of troops to cut off the enemy as they attempted to escape, he himself, with the remainder of his army, penetrated the recesses of the mountains. In this service he was much assisted by the foreign troops in his army,§ who, having been accustomed to serve in a mountainous country, advanced with greater facility, set fire to the houses, and slew great num-

A. D. 1283.

* Holinshead, p. 282.

† J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 165. Mat. Westm. p. 176. Carte, p. 194, from Chr. Dunstable, and Annales Cestrensis, p. 282.

‡ Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Holinshead, p. 282.

§ Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2464.

bers of the Welsh, discovered in the secret recesses of the county, or flying to such places for concealment.*

The people who inhabited the Snowdun mountains being now entirely subdued, Edward collected his scattered army, and spread over the more level parts of the country, of which he easily made himself master, and the miserable natives, in despair and unresisting, were slaughtered without mercy. More than three thousand perished in the carnage.† Prince David, unable to make any resistance, was carried along the torrent which overwhelmed his country, and he was obliged to conceal himself and his family in woods and marshes, and in other places of security.‡ He remained some months in this situation, almost famished through the want of provisions, during which time, urged by strong necessity, he fre-

* Polidore Virgil, p. 324. Holinshead, p. 282.
† Holinshead, p. 282. Polidore Virgil, p. 324.
‡ Thomas Wyke's Chron. p. 111.

quently issued out to make depredations.*

In this state of consternation, all union having been dissolved by the conquest of their country, the Welsh no longer resisted the incitements which were offered to private advantage, or to personal safety. It was therefore an easy matter for Edward to corrupt some of David's retainers. These are supposed to be Eineon ap Ivor, and Gronw ap David, with their sons, who, in the night of the twenty-first of June, surprised the Welsh Prince and his family in a morass, into which they had fled for security.† The unfortunate David and his wife, his two sons and seven daughters,‡ were brought prisoners to Rhuddlan castle, where the

* Annales Waverleiensis, p, 238. Carte, from Annales Cestrensis. Chron. Dunstaple, p. 104.

† Rymer, vol. II. p. 247. Annales Waverleinsis, p. 238. Thomas Wyke, p. 111.

‡ It is probable that all these children were illegitimate, excepting one daughter.

King then resided.* When that Prince was taken, a relic was founded upon him, called the *Crosseneych*,† supposed to be a part of the real *Cross*, highly venerated by the Princes of Wales, and which was delivered to the King, with other relics, by one of the above-mentioned chieftains.‡ David requested that he might be admitted into the King's presence. This indulgence was denied him.§ Inflexible in the design he meditated, Edward refused his repeated solicitations, unwilling that his own firmness should be put to the test, which the recollection of former intercourse might soften, or afraid

* Mat. Westm. p. 177. T. Wyke's Chron. p. 112. says only his wife and two sons. Holinshead. p.282.

† This relic, St. Neots had brought into Wales from the Holy Land, and was voluntarily delivered up to the King by a secretary of the late Prince of Wales. J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 202.

‡ Besides the above relic, the crown of the celebrated King Arthur, with many precious jewels, were about this time presented to Edward. See Annales Waverleinsis, p. 238. Rymer, vol. II. p. 247.

§ J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 166. Annales Waverleiensis, p. 238.

lest he might be melted into pity, and in consequence his justice be disarmed, by an interview with a captive Prince, who had fallen in the noblest cause, in the defence of the rights of his country.

The Welsh Prince was confined a close prisoner in Rhuddlan castle, and soon after sent in chains to Shrewsbury.* On the captivity of David, Rhys Vychan, an eminent chieftain in South Wales, surrendered himself and his followers to the Earl of Hereford, who delivered them up to the King, by whose orders Rhys was sent to London, and loaded with chains, was imprisoned in the Tower.† All the other Welsh chieftains, followed his example, yielded up their castles, and submitted to the English King.‡ One victim remained to feel the weight of Edward's severest vengeance.

* J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 166. Annales Waverleiensis, p. 238.

† Wyke, p. 111. Welsh Chron. p. 374.

‡ Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2465. J. Rossi. p. 166.

As David had been made a baron of the realm, Edward determined to proceed against him as a subject of England. With this view, he summoned eleven earls, and one hundred barons, to open the process at Shrewsbury on the thirtieth of September, and to sit in judgment at his trial, the King himself presiding in person.* By this court, the Prince of Wales was doomed to die as a traitor:† a sense of interest, and the desire of pleasing their sovereign, influenced the decision of the judges, and silenced the claims of justice and humanity. There was something singular in the sentence pronounced against him by John de Vaus,‡ the chief justice of England. He was condemned to five different kinds of punishment.—To be drawn at the tails of horses, through the streets of Shrews-

* Rymer, vol. II. p. 247, 248. Mat. Westm. p. 177. Annales Waverleiensis, p. 238.

† Wyke, p. 111. Mat. West. p. 177. J. Rossi, Ant. Warw. p. 166.

‡ Guth. Hist. England, p. 898.

bury, to the place of execution, because he was a traitor to the King, who had made him a knight. To be hanged, for having murdered Fulk Trigald, and other knights, in the castle of Hawarden. His heart and bowels to be burned, because those murders had been perpetrated on Palm Sunday. His head to be cut off. His body to be quartered, and to be hung up in four different parts of the kingdom,* because he had conspired the death of the King in several places of England.† This sentence, cruel in the extreme, the rigour of which had refined into novelty, was executed in all its severity. Such was the pleasure which the death of David gave to the English, that the citizens of York and Winchester contended, with a savage eagerness, for the right shoulder of this unfortunate Prince. That honour was decided in favour of Winchester; and the remaining quarters were sent, with the utmost dispatch, to

* See Annales Waverleiensis, p. 238.
† Carte, p. 195, from Chron. Dunstaple.

the cities of York and Bristol, and to the town of Northampton.* To feast still more the eyes of the people, his head was sent to the tower of London, and being fixed on a pole, was placed near to the head of his brother Llewelyn.† Every generous idea, and liberal sentiment, seem to have been extinguished in national hatred, and in the frenzy of joy, which had seized on the English.

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The death of David closed the only sovereignty which remained of the ancient British empire,—an empire, which, through various changes of fortune, had opposed the arms of imperial Rome, and for more than eight hundred years, had resisted the utmost efforts of the Saxon and Norman Princes.

The fall of nations, distinguished only by misfortunes, or only illustrious for

* Annales Waverleiensis, p. 238.

† Mat. West. p. 177. T. Wyke, p. 111. J. Rossi, p. 166. Annales Waverleiensis, p. 238.

conquests, may raise for a moment a sigh of pity, or the transient effusions of applause. But a people like the Welsh, satisfied with their mountains, who had been forced into a long and unequal contest, in defence of their native rights, with few other resources than their valour and a fond attachment to their liberties, though falling in the ruins of their country, will have a claim on the esteem, and excite the admiration, of the world, as long as manly sentiment and freedom shall remain.

But, in reflecting on the history of this nation with a just and discriminating spirit, we have been frequently led to survey its manners and national character with the opposite emotions of pleasure and disgust. We are not, however, to estimate that character too nicely by the standard of civilized judgment. It is true, there were traits in the genius of that people, marking in their manners the deepest ferocity; it is true, that

caprice and levity and the spirit of discord, too often decided in their councils, and governed their conduct, and it is also true, that striking defects may be traced in their policy and laws, ruinous to themselves, and disgraceful to a less cultivated period. But the vices of an uncivilized people, are in some degree softened, and even balanced by their virtues. A spirit unsubdued by danger and misfortunes, hospitable manners and eager friendships, a high relish for the arts of music and of poetry, with a principle of justice inherent in their laws, are qualities to be thrown into the opposite scale. And no doubt the influence of these, blending the lighter with the darker shades, softened the asperity of ruder features, and tempered into a milder mass the colouring of the whole. But the spirit of freedom and an ardent love of their country were the distinguishing traits in their character. These were the animating springs of their genius, and enabled that people to sustain, through a long succession of

ages, the most striking reverses of fortune, and it is the collision of such vicissitudes, by calling into exertion public virtue and heroism, which gives dignity to the character of man, and constitutes the true glory of a nation.

EDWARD having at length obtained the point of his ambition, by the entire conquest of Wales, annexed that country to the crown of England. As the leading principle in the politics of Edward, we have seen him pursue this object, with that vehemency of spirit, and unremitting ardour, which so highly distinguished his character. The features of the English Monarch, we confess, have hitherto appeared harsh, severe, and disgusting, but then, we have only seen them at the moment, when they were inflamed with anger, or roughened by opposition. The contest being ended, and the Welsh no

longer resisting his power, the violence of his spirit began to subside; and, except a few starts into natural fierceness, we shall see him in future, with a milder influence, bringing into action the great talents which he really possessed.

To secure the obedience of the newly subdued country, and to fix its government upon the solid basis of equal laws, and the participation of common rights, Edward at this time introduced into Wales the whole system of English jurisprudence.* He divided North Wales into counties; he appointed sheriffs, coroners, and other officers in each;† the county courts to be held once a month, and those of the sheriffs twice in the year; he settled also the forms of writs, with the methods to be used in law proceedings, which were to be carried on and decided within

* Brady, vol. II. p. 11. Mat. Westm. p. 177.

† Baker's Chron. p. 101. J. Rossi. Ant. Warw, p. 166

the principality, it being expressly provided that the Welsh should not be sued for debts and trespasses in any town of England.* With this design, Edward took up his residence at the castle of Rhuddlan, where he instituted a body of laws under the title of the Statute of Rhuddlan.† From hence he issued out a A. D. 1284. proclamation to all the inhabitants of Wales, that he would received them under his protection, giving them assurances, at the same time, of enjoying their estates, their liberties, and properties, and that they should also hold them under the same tenures as they had heretofore held them under their native Princes.‡ This liberal

* Leges Walliæ, p. 531—536. Appendix.

† Ibid. p. 542. Welsh Chron. p. 376.

‡ See Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 33. This valuable memoir, besides being the history of a private family, not only deduces with greater accuracy the pedigrees of several of their Princes, but likewise, illustrates the manners of the Welsh, as well as the miserable situation of that people, during the dark period which succeeded the conquest. This work was written by Sir John Wynne of Gwedir, a native of Meirionydd, and descended from the Royal House

offer was carried into immediate execution. The King of England, with much moderation and wisdom, reserving to himself only the same rents, duties, and services, which had always belonged to the Princes of Wales. Inquisitions were made into these rights by an order of the King, their particular nature was ascertained, and determined by the verdicts of juries who were composed entirely of Welshmen. The rents which had been heretofore paid by the inhabitants of Anglesey were much reduced in consequence; as they had formerly yielded one thousand marks annually to Llewelyn, but afterwards only paid four hundred and fifty pounds a year to the English Princes.*

The country being thus subdued, as a check to any future incursions of the

of North Wales. The world is indebted for its publication, and the ingenious notes annexed to the work, to the learned and judicious antiquary, the Hon. Daines Barrington.

* Carte's Hist. Eng. vol. II. p. 196.

Welsh, Edward erected the castle of Conway, on the scite of the ancient monastery, the religious of which, a society of white monks, he removed to an abbey which he founded at Maenan near Llanrwst, and whom he afterwards transplanted to Vale Royal in Cheshire, where he built an abbey of the Cistercian order.†

The Archbishop of Canterbury also came at this time into Wales, with a view of conciliating the minds of the Welsh clergy, by redressing their grievances, and by repairing the churches which had been damaged in the disorder of the late times.‡

The English King had already built a strong fortress at Conway, and as a farther check to insurrections which might arise in the quarter of Snowdun, he erected the

* Mat. Westm. p. 177.

† Holinshead. p. 282.

‡ Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465. Rymer, vol. II. p. 277, 279. Welsh Chron. p. 374.

castle of Caernarvon, supplying each of those fortresses with suitable garrisons.* With the same view of curbing the Welsh, and as a reward to the English nobility who had served him in the war, he now gave the lordship of Denbigh, or he might confirm what he had formerly granted, to Henry Lacy earl of Lincoln, and the lordship of Ruthin to the lord Reginald de Grey; he gave estates, likewise, to many of the other English barons.† He erected Rhuddlan, Caernarvon, Aberystwyth, and other towns into corporations, granting them great privileges, to encourage trade, and to allure the Welsh from their mountains and wilder habits, into a more sociable manner of living. He would likewise have removed the See of St. Asaph to Rhuddlan, if he could have obtained the Pope's consent.‡

* Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465. Rymer, vol. II. p. 277, 279. Welsh Chron. p. 374.

† Welsh Chron. p. 377.

‡ Carte, vol. I. p. 196.

The sudden introduction of English customs into Wales, though softened by lenient measures and directed by a liberal spirit, was not likely to suit the inclinations of a people, who were sore with injuries, and highly incensed at the late transactions. An event followed soon after, which had no tendency to sooth the spirits of the Welsh, or to conciliate their affections.

Among other causes of that ardent spirit, with which this people had so long maintained their independence, the English King must have known that their Bards had been the principal springs of action. To silence that voice, which might revive ancient ideas, and rekindle in the Welsh their love of freedom and native fire, Edward commanded that all the bards in Wales should be hanged by martial law, under pretence that they had incited the people to sedition. This edict, more cruel than the proscriptions of the Roman triumvirate, continued in all its rigour to

the end of the reign of Henry the fourth;* during which period, interest and hatred conspiring its ruin, this ancient and celebrated *Order* was nearly exterminated.† In this transaction, however, no claim to originality is due to Edward. Philip of Macedon, when treating with the Athenian state, demanded as a condition of peace, that all the orators, the promoters of the war, should be delivered into his hands. An impartial recital of events, however it may sully the fame of an illustrious character, is a justice which we owe to truth, and to the manes of an injured people.

IT may not be improper, at this period of their decline, to open to the reader a short history of the Bards, a race of men,

* Statutes at large, 4 Henry IV. Cap 27.
† Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 62.

who possessed, for many ages, so great an influence over the genius of the Welsh nation, inspiring them with hospitable manners, and with the sentiments of freedom and of glory.

The bards derived their origin from remote antiquity, and were ever held in high estimation. Mankind have been early led to poetical compositions. Agreeable sounds would strike at first every ear, but poetry was necessary to give those sounds a lasting effect. Verse was made use of to preserve the memory of remarkable events and great actions. The religious ceremonies of nations, their manners, and rural labours, were also recorded in numbers. Hence it was that Greece could boast of Homer, a Hesiod, and of many other poets, several ages before an historian had written in prose. Among the Gauls also, and other Celtic nations there were poems composed on various subjects from the earliest ages.*

* Mallet's Northern Antiquities, vol. I. p. 384.

It is difficult to fix the etymology of the name *beirdd*, unless derived from *bâr*, which signifies *fury*, and, no doubt, has some analogy to that poetic fury, or enthusiasm, with which the poets fancied themselves, or might feign to be, inspired.* Diodorus Siculus is the first author among the ancients, who makes mention of the bards as composers of verses, which they sung to the harp and other instruments of music, celebrating the praises of heroes, or chastising vicious characters with satirical invectives.† Ammianus Marcellinus says, it was the province of the bards to sing, in heroic verse, set to musical notes of the harp, the achievements of illustrious men. There is a passage of Possidonius, cited by Athenæus, which describes the Celtic Princes going to war, having bards in their train, who celebrated the praises

* Richard's Welsh Dictionary, from Festus. Baxter's Glossary, p. 34. Evan Evans Dissertatio de Bardis.

† Ibid.

of their chieftains in verse, which they sung to the people.*

Great respect was paid by all the northern nations to their bards, as they not only published their renown to the world, but consigned their fame to posterity. It is said that this *Order* of men were never guilty of flattery, and never lavished their praises on heroes, nor even on kings themselves, unless deserved by their gallant exploits.†

Though the *Order* of the Bards was common to the Celtic nations, no vestige of them remains, but among the Welsh, the Irish, and the descendants of the ancient Caledonians.

On the invasion of the Picts, the Scots, and the Saxons, and on the decline of the British empire, many poetical com-

* Evan Evans Dissertatio de Bardis. J. Lelandi Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis, p. 5.

† Mallet, vol. I. p. 384.

positions were destroyed, with other ancient records: hence the writings of the bards, and those of the early historians, are exceedingly scarce. Nennius, who wrote in the ninth century, and in the reign of Prince Mervyn, is the first of the British historians who mentions the bards: he says that Talhaiarn was famous for poetry; that Aneurin and Taliesin, Llywarch-hen and Chian, flourished in the sixth century. Of these bards, the works only of three are extant,—those of Aneurin, of Taliesin, and Llywarch-hen.* The writings of the other bards being lost, we can only bring Nennius as an evidence in their praise, who asserts that the bards of his age were men of excellent genius.† The poems which are extant contain many things deserving of notice, and throw a great light upon the historical events of that age. At the same time, they are difficult to be understood, owing in part

* Evans Dissertatio de Bardis.

† J. Lelandi Commet. de Script. Britannicis, p. 4]

to the carelessness of transcribers, and in part to the language itself, become obsolete from its very great antiquity. Aneurin, to whom his country gave the honourable distinction of *Mychdeirn-Beirdd*, or Monarch of the Bards, in a poem entitled Gododin, relates that he had been engaged in a battle against the Saxons. Taliesin, called likewise *Pen-Beirdd*, or the Prince of the Bards, resided at the courts of Maelgwyn Gwynedd, and Urien Reged Prince of Cumberland.* Llywarch-hen, or the aged, who was kinsman to the last mentioned Prince, had been himself a sovereign in a part of Cumbria, and had passed his youthful days in the court of King Arthur.† There are extant some manuscript poems of his, wherein he recites that he was driven by the Saxon into Powys; that he had twenty-four sons, all of whom were distinguished by golden torqueses, and that they all died in defence of their country. Besides

* Evan Evans Dissertatio de Bardis.

† Musical and Poetical Relics, by Jones, p. 6.

those already mentioned, there were other bards, who flourished during this period, the most eminent of whom was Merddin Wyllt, who composed a poem called *Afallenau*, or the Orchard.*

From the sixth to the tenth century it is difficult to meet with any of the writings of the bards, owing, it is probable, to the devastations of war, and to the civil dissensions among the Welsh.

Such was the respect in which the bards were held, that it was enacted by a law of Howel Dda, that whoever should strike any one of this *Order*, must compound for the offence, by paying to the party aggrieved one fourth more than was necessary to be paid to any other person of the same degree. The election of the bards was made every year, in an assembly of the chieftains and Princes of the country, in which they were assigned pre-

* Evan Evans Dissertatio de Bardis

cedence, and emolument suitable to their merit; but the bard most highly distinguished for his talents was solemnly chaired, and had likewise a badge given him of a silver chair.* This congress of the bards was usually held at the three royal residences of the Princes of Wales; the sovereign himself presiding in that assembly.†

There were three different classes of this order in Wales. The first was called *Beirdd*, and were the composers of verses and odes in various measures; it was necessary that these should possess a genius for poetry, and also that their genius should be tinctured with a high degree of enthusiasm. They were likewise the recorders of the arms of the Welsh chieftains, and the repositories also of the genealogies of families. This class was accounted the most honourable, and was high in the public estimation. The se-

* Evan Evans Dissertatio de Bardis.

† Jones's Musical Remains, p. 14.

cond class, called *Minstrels*, were performers upon instruments, chiefly the harp and the crwth.* The third were those who sung to musical instruments in general, and were called *Datgeiniaid*.†

In the reign of Gryffydd ap Cynan, a law was enacted to ascertain the privileges of the minstrels and bards, and to restrain their licentious manners. This statute prescribed the emoluments each was to receive, as well as the persons on whom such emoluments were imposed. It was likewise enacted, that neither the minstrels nor the bards should lead the lives of vagabonds, nor should sing verses in houses of public resort; that they should not be intoxicated with liquor, nor be quarrelsome persons, nor be addicted to women, and that they should neither

* The musical instruments in use among the Welsh were the *telyn* or harp, the *crwth* or crowd, the *pibgorn* or pipe, the *tabwrdd* or tabret, and the *corn buelin*, cornet or bugle horn. See Jones's Musical Remains, p. 41.

† Welsh Chron. p. 192.

be thieves themselves, nor should be the companions of such; they were prohibited likewise from entering into any house, or making satirical songs on any person without the licence of the parties concerned. If a minstrel or a bard should violate these restraints on their conduct, by a singular and unexampled severity, every man was made an officer of justice, and was authorised not only to arrest and to punish discretionally, but to seize upon whatever property the offender had about him. This statute, the severity of which in some degree points out its necessity, has been frequently put in force by the reigning authority of the country, as appears by several commissions directing the better regulation of the *Order*.*

From this time, under the auspicious protection of the Welsh Princes, many excellent bards arose. Meilir, who was the bard of Gryffydd ap Cynan, was also employed in a military character, and

* Welsh Chron. p. 192.

was sent by that Prince to transact a negociation into England. Gwalchmai the son of Meilir, in a poem entitled *Gorhoffedd*, says with much exultation, that he had defended the marches of Wales against the English. Cynddelw *Brydydd-Mawr*, or Cynddelw the Great Bard, was a person eminent for his valour, and lived in the court of Madoc ap Meredydd the Prince of Powys.

From this period, to the death of that great Prince, the last Llewelyn, several bards flourished of distinguished talents, the most eminent of whom was Llywarch-Prydydd-y-Moch, who has celebrated in many odes the victories of Llewelyn the Great, likewise Dafydd Penfras, Daniel ap Llosgwrn Mew, and Llewelyn Fardd ap Cyward. Cotemporary with these flourished Philip Brydydd, who was an eminent bard in Caerdigan.*

* About the year 1176, Rhys ap Gryffydd, descended from the royal house of South Wales, made a great feast in the castle of Aberteivi during the

The talents of the Welsh bards were not solely employed in preserving the descents of families, in praise of heroes, or in recording their illustrious actions.* They sometimes in plaintive numbers mourned over the tomb of the fallen warrior.

We offer to the reader, as a specimen of this kind of poetry, the following translation of an Elegy which was written by

Christmas holidays, which feast he had caused to be proclaimed throughout Britain a long time before. Agreeably to this invitation, many strangers resorted to this castle, and were entertained by him with much honour and courtesy. Besides deeds of arms, and other amusements, Rhys had caused all the bards in Wales to repair to the meeting, and placing them on chairs in the hall of the castle, he ordered them to exercise their several talents in opposition to each other, appointing great rewards to those who excelled in their several professions. In this contest, the bards of North Wales carried away the prize, and the musicians of Rhys's own household were adjudged to have excelled in the powers of harmony. See Welsh Chron. p. 237.

* J. Lelandi Comm. de Scriptoribus Britann. p. 5.

Llywarch-hen, a British bard of the sixth century on the death of Cynddylan Prince of Powys.

Come forth and see, ye Cambrian dames,
Fair Pengwern's* royal roofs in flames!
The foe the fatal dart hath flung
(The foe that speaks a barb'rous tongue,)
And pierc'd Cynddylan's princely head,
And stretch'd your champion with the dead.
His heart, which late, with martial fire,
Bade his lov'd country's foes expire
(Such fire as wastes the forest hill)
Now like the winter's ice is chill.

O'er the pale corse with boding cries
Sad Argoed's † cruel eagle flies;
He flies exulting o'er the plain,
And scents the blood of heroes slain.
Dire bird! this night my frighted ear
Thy loud, ill-omen'd voice shall hear:
I know thy cry, that screams for food,
And thirsts to drink Cynddylan's blood.

No more the mansion of delight,
Cynddylan's hall is dark to-night;

* Now Shrewsbury, then the chief residence of the Princes of Powys.

† The ancient name of Powys.

Nor more the midnight hour prolongs
With fires, and lamps, and festive songs.
Its trembling bards afflicted shun
The hall, bereav'd of Cyndrwyn's son.*
Its joyous visitants are fled;
Its hospitable fires are dead:
No longer, rang'd on either hand
Its dormitory, couches stand:
But all above, around, below,
Dread sights, dire sounds, and shrieks of woe.

Awhile I'll weep Cynddylan slain,
And pour the weak, desponding strain;
Awhile I'll sooth my troubled breast:
Then, in eternal silence rest.†

* Cynddylan was the son of Cyndrwyn.

† This Elegy was translated into English verse by the Rev. John Walters, master of Ruthin school, and late fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, to whose elegant taste, and judicious knowledge of the Welsh laws the author has been much indebted. The like acknowledgement is due to the Rev. John Lloyd, rector of Caerwaes, from whose friendly attentions this work has received very considerable advantage. This gentleman, who possesses a critical judgment in the antiquities of his country, as well as an extensive knowledge of history, is lineally descended from the Princes of the house of Powys.

Tyranny having erected her banner in Wales, by the cruel policy of Edward, in the massacre of the bards, that ancient seat of music and of poetry was deserted by the muses, and in consequence was deprived of those fascinating arts, which softened, at the same time that they invigorated, the genius of the people.

During the spirited, and, for a while, the prosperous insurrection of Owen Glendwrdwy, the muses revisited their native seats,—encouraged by the munificence of that leader, and animated by the transitory ray which had dawned upon freedom. Among the number of those bards who appeared at the court of Glendwrdwy, was Iolo Goch, who celebrated, in a high strain of eulogy, the magnificence and the victories of his patron. At the same time flourished Dafydd ap Gwilim, a native of Caerdigan.

The Welsh, having made the last effort for their expiring freedom, sunk into a

state of slavery, the most deep and severe. The bards were prohibited by law from making their annual progress, and from holding public assemblies; which privileges were called by the natives *Clera* and *Cymhortha*. During this dark period, and the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, the genius of poetry was nearly extinguished, or was only employed in soothing the misery of the times by obscure predictions of more prosperous days.*

A brighter prospect opening on this nation in the reign of Henry the seventh, a series of bards from that time arose, who, being supported in the families of the Welsh chieftains, ascertained and preserved their genealogies; and the causes of reciting warlike exploits having ceased, they celebrated the civil virtues of their patrons, their magnanimity, their hospitable spirit, their talents, and the graces of their persons. They likewise, amidst

* Evan Evans Dissertatio de Bardis.

other duties, had the mournful office of composing an elegy on the death of the chieftain in whose family they resided, which was sung to the surviving relations in honour of the dead, reciting the noble families from which the deceased had sprung, and the great actions performed by himself or his ancestors.

Since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, there has not been any regular assembly of the bards.* The motives to emulation having ceased, and the spirit of ancient freedom being extinguished, the poetic fire, for which this nation had been so renowned, gradually declined. But a spark of that ancient fire yet remains in the genius of the Welsh, which, in their seasons of festivity, breaks out into a singular kind of poetry, called *Pennyll;* †

* Evan Evans Dissertatio de Bardis. Jones's Musical Remains, p. 30.

† Even at this day, some vein of the ancient minstrelsy survives amongst our mountains. Numbers of persons of both sexes assemble and sit round the harp, singing alternately *Pennillion,* or

and which, as a native art, may long survive, though time, or the influence of

stanzas of ancient or modern compositions. The young people usually begin the night with dancing, and when they are tired, assume this species of relaxation. They alternately sing, dance, and drink,—not by hours, but by days and weeks, and measure time only by the continuance of their mirth and pleasure. Often, like the modern Improvisatore of Italy, they sing extempore verses; and a person conversant in this art readily produces a *Pennill* opposite to the last that was sung. Many have their memories stored with several hundreds, perhaps thousands of *pennillion*, some of which they have always ready for answers to every subject that can be proposed, or if their recollection should ever fail them, they have invention to compose something pertinent and proper for the occasion. The subjects afford a great deal of mirth; some of these are jocular, others satirical, but most of them amorous; which, from the nature of the subject, are best preserved. They continue singing without intermission, never repeating the same stanza, (for that would forfeit the honour of being held first of the song) and, like nightingales, supported the contest through the night. The audience usually call for the tune; sometimes a few only sing to it, and sometimes the whole company. But when a party of capital singers assemble, they rarely call for the tune, for it is indifferent to them what tune the

English manners, should erase every other original trait.

THE union of Wales with the crown of England, not having proceeded from mutual inclination, was received by the Welsh with the deepest reluctance. It was an union which they considered in no other light than as a system of slavery. Foreign laws and customs had been forced upon them, which, though better than

harper plays. Parishes are often opposed against parishes, and even counties contend with counties. These rural usages are best preserved in the mountainous counties of Meirionydd and Caernarvon.—Jones's Musical Remains, p. 30. See also Mr. Pennant's Journey to Snowdun. The world is indebted to this gentleman for many valuable publications respecting Wales. The countenance which they have already received by the public, on account of the agreeable descriptions given of that country, and their deep and extensive researches into its antiquities, renders any eulogium, on our part, unnecessary.

their own, and more suited to their advances into civilization, were still the laws of a conquering nation, with which, on the footing of equality, they had so long contended. The rigour also exercised by Edward's officers in Wales, alienated them still more from an English administration, and they yet retained a fond attachment to the memory of their native Princes.

To all the proposals made to them by Edward of settling their government, they gave him the same decisive answer. They said, that they were willing to be governed by a chieftain of their own country, or by the King in person; but firmly declared that they would yield no obedience to any person who was not a native of Wales, or who did not reside there. The idea struck the English Monarch. He dispatched orders to Queen Eleanor to come instantly into Wales. At this time she was big with child, and it was now the depth of winter. At this season of the year, and in her delicate situation, that Princess travelled privately on horseback,

through the roads of those times, out of England to Caernarvon. A few days before the Queen was delivered, the King sent orders to the Welsh chieftains to meet him at Rhuddlan, and to take into their consideration the public concerns. Edward delayed for sometime to call them into council. At length, having heard that Eleanor was delivered of a son* on the 25th of April, he commanded the attendance of the Welsh chieftains; and told them, that as they had frequently desired he would appoint them a Sovereign, he now indulge them in their request, provided they promised to yield to the person he should name a proper obedience. They assented to the terms he proposed, in case that person should be a native of Wales. The King, then, informed them, that their intended Prince

* This intelligence was brought to the King by Sir Gryffydd Llwyd, who on that account was knighted by the English Prince. Annales Waverleiensis, p. 238. Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Angl. p. 2465.

was born in their own country, that he could not speak a word of English, and that his life was free from every stain. It is not easy to suppose, that the Welsh chieftains would have been the dupes of so shallow an artifice. They eagerly assented to acknowledge such a person for their Sovereign. The King then informed them that their future Prince was his infant son Edward, born in Caernarvon castle a few days before. It is natural to conceive, that the Welsh chieftains, though surprised at being thus caught in the snare, would console themselves with the hopes, that the young Prince, as a native of Wales, would usually reside in their country.* On the magnanimity which was shewn in this transaction the reader will make his own comments. But to strike out advantage from the prejudices, or peculiar attachments of the Welsh; and to render such subservient to his own views, and direct them to their ultimate benefit, was a point of nice ad-

* Welsh Chron. p. 377. Stowe's Chron. p. 202,

dress in the English King, and did credit to his talents.

Having finished the affairs of North Wales, Edward, to gratify a martial nobility, and to amuse or flatter his new subjects by a spectacle unknown to the Welsh, gave orders that a tournament should be held at Nevyn, a town in Caernarvonshire, and situated on the Irish channel.* This joust was in imitation of that species of military entertainment supposed to be instituted by King Arthur, and which was called the *Round Table*, from the knights who resorted to these martial exercises being seated at a table of that form.† A great number of knights, as well English as foreigners, came from different countries to share in this splendid and military entertainment.‡ And here

* Mat. Westm. p. 178.

† This custom, it is said, had also been in use among the Gauls and the ancient Britons. Camden's Brit. p. 664. Gibson's edition.

‡ Mat. Westm. p. 178. Camden's Brit. p. 664, Gibson's edition.

the English King had an opportunity of shewing his Welsh subjects, that he was not inferior to Arthur, their celebrated warrior, in feats of arms, and in knightly accomplishments. This diversion being ended, he made a progress through Caerdigan, where he remained a month to settle the affairs of South Wales, from thence he proceeded into the county of Glamorgan, on a visit to the Earl of Gloucester, to whom that country belonged, and having been nobly entertained by that Lord,* he arrived at Bristol, in which city he remained during the Christmas holy days.† On the second of January, he issued a writ from thence, of A. D. 1284. a conciliatory nature, by which the inhabitants of Rhuddlan, Conway, Caernarvon, and other towns, were declared to be free from paying talliages for ever.‡ King A. D. 1285. Edward then returned to London, after an absence of nearly three years.§ On

* Carte, vol. II. 197.
† Chron. T. Wyke, p. 110. Holinshead, p. 282.
‡ Rymer, vol. II. p. 284.
§ Annales Waverleiensis, p. 238.

his arrival in his capital, he rode in great solemnity through London to Westminster, attended by the Archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragan bishops dressed in their sacred vestments, besides an infinite multitude who attended the procession. The King, on this occasion, carried a part of our Lord's Cross which he had brought out of Wales, which was gilded, and ornamented with precious stones, and placed it upon the great altar in Westminster abbey.

The joy which Edward would naturally feel on the prosperous issue of his affairs, had been highly imbittered by the death of Alphonso,* his eldest son, a youth of no more than twelve years of age, who died on the nineteenth of August in the preceding year; a Prince much admired by the English for his beauty, valour,

* A few months before his death, coming to Westminster, he offered up at the shrine of Edward the Confessor, precious stones, and a piece of gold which had been the property of Llewelyn the late Prince of Wales. See Annales Waverleiensis, p. 238.

and spirit. By his death, young Prince, Edward of Caernarvon, became heir apparent to the English crown.*

The idea of that Prince being a native of Wales, and the expectation that he would be accustomed to speak their language and to reside in their country, were the only ties which secured the fidelity of the Welsh nation to the English government. These bands being loosened, and the only motives to union having ceased, every part of the newly subdued state fell again into disorder: a spirit of resistance revived in the Welsh, not under the sole guidance of any one distinguished person, nor upon any plan of concerted operation, but only as chance or caprice, private ambition, or national hatred directed.

At this time the King of England was in Guienne, and had left during his absence, the Earl of Cornwall Regent of the realm. In the late conquest of Wales, Rhys ap

* Chr. T. Wyke, p. 112 Polidore Virgil, p. 325.

Meredydd had been active in the service of Edward, and in consequence of that service had been made a knight, and flattered with the hopes of receiving from the hands of that Prince still farther honours. Instead of his expectation being realized, it seems as if he had been left in that cold neglect, which is frequently the just reward bestowed upon wicked and interested men, when their services are no longer necessary. He was cited to appear in the county courts, with other Welsh noblemen, by Robert de Tibetot, and Alan Plucknet, the one justiciary of South Wales and governor of several castles adjoining to the territory of Rhys ap Meredydd, and the other the King's steward in Wales.* Incensed at this summons, the Welsh chieftain refused his compliance. It was too mortifying to Rhys so easily to relinquish his rights, derived from a long train of princely ancestors, or to see them mingle in the com-

* Welsh Chron. p, 379. Henry de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465. Holinshead, p. 283.

mon ruin of ancient customs. Legal measures were taken to enforce his obedience. During the process, frequent hostilities occured between the retainers of the two parties, to the great annoyance of the country; at length the disorder rose to such a height, as to make it necessary, by an order of the English King, for the Earl of Cornwall to come in person into Wales with an army, and endeavour to check the insurrection. At the same time Edward himself wrote to Rhys ap Meredydd, to desire that he would cease from hostilities, assuring him, that, on his return, the evils he complained of should be redressed, and that all reasonable justice should be done him.* Rhys thought the King's absence a fair opportunity of rousing the spirit of the Welsh nation, as yet not reconciled to subjection, and of mounting the throne of his ancestors.† In pursuance of this design, and that his

* Welsh Chron. p. 379. Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2465, Holinshead, p. 283.

† Polidore Virgil, p. 326.

followers might have no hopes of safety but in their own valour, he took the castles of Llandovery and Dinevawr, and
A. D. 1287. likewise set fire to several towns.*

The Earl of Cornwall, designing at the same time to attack the rebel chieftain in several quarters, summoned the military tenants of the crown to rendezvous at Gloucester, Llanbadernvawr, and Monmouth, ready to march under his own command, or under the Earl of Gloucester, who was appointed general in this expedition.† This appointment however was superseded by Cornwall himself,‡ who, marching into Wales, obliged Rhys and his followers to retire into the fastnesses of the country, which gave that nobleman an opportunity of taking and demolishing the castles of the Welsh chieftain. One of these was the castle of Ruslin. It was

* Rymer, vol. II. p. 343, 344, 345. Guth. Hist. Eng. vol. I. p. 905.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

usual in those days, in the siege of a fortress, to undermine the walls by sinking a mine, and to support it with timber until the besiegers were ready to begin the attack; they then set fire to the props, and the mine sinking in consequence, the walls fell to the ground, and the assault immediately took place. During this operation, in the siege of this fortress, the lord Stafford, and William de Monchency, attended by many knights and esquires, came to reconnoitre the works; but the miners unskilful in that service, had supported the mine so weakly, that the walls suddenly falling in, they all perished under the ruins. Though the castle was taken, the expedition was rendered of little advantage, by the Earl of Gloucester having remained inactive, owing, it is probable, to his having been superseded in the command, or to some secret inclination he might feel to favour the enemy's cause.* The Earl of Cornwall, unable to force

* Holinshead, p. 284. Mat. Westm. p. 179. T, Wyke, p. 115, Annales Waverleiensis, p. 240.

Rhys ap Meredydd, and the season of the year advancing into winter, was obliged to relinquish the enterprize, and to grant him a truce.*

The Regent had no sooner arrived at Westminster early in November, than the Welsh chieftain renewed hostilities, and laid siege to the castle of Emlyn.† On this breach of the treaty the justiciary set a price upon his head, and also proclaimed him a traitor: summonses were likewise issued by the Earl of Cornwall for the English nobility on the borders of Wales to take up arms against the rebels.‡ The Mortimers, and other lords of the marches, taking arms under Robert de Tibetot, gained possession of a strong fortress belonging to Rhys, and so effectually checked his designs, that having no security in his own territories, he took refuge in those

* Holinshead, p. 284. Mat. Westm. p. 179. T. Wyke, p. 115. Annales Waverleiensis, p. 240.

† Rymer, vol. II. p. 354.

‡ T. Wyke, p. 115. Rymer, vol. II. p. 344, 345.

of the Earl of Gloucester, by whose means he afterwards escaped into Ireland.*

Having remained inactive in this retreat three years, Rhys ap Meredydd came again into South Wales, and raising a new insurrection, the justiciary opposed him with the few forces which on a sudden he was able to raise. Informed that his own troops were more in number than the English, the Welsh chieftain, with great A. D. confidence, marched to give them the 1290. meeting. The levies he brought into the field were young and raw soldiers; accustomed to no discipline, they did not preserve any order in their ranks, but with great fury attacked their enemies in front, flank, and rear, expecting on the first onset to break their array. The English troops, forming into a close body, presented a front on every side to the assailants. The action continued for sometime warmly disputed: the Welsh repeating

* Holinshead, p. 284. Mat. Westm. p. 179. T. Wyke, p. 115. Annales Waverleiensis, p. 240.

their onsets with much bravery, and the English as bravely beating them back; at length, the assaults of the Welsh growing more weak, the English made an effort to break through the main body of the enemy, which they easily accomplished. The Welsh troops, confused and in dismay, were beaten down on every side. Four thousand of them were slain in this engagement.* Their leader Rhys ap Meredydd was taken prisoner, and a little time after, on the departure of the king into Scotland, he was executed at York, agreeably to the new mode of punishment, by being drawn at the tails of horses, and afterwards hanged and quartered.† After his death, the castles and territories of the Welsh chieftain were given to Robert de Tibetot.‡

The King of England, at this time, was engaged in a dispute with the French Monarch; and other means having prov-

* Holinshead, p. 284. Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2465.

† Polidore Virgil, p. 326, 327. Mat. Westm. p. 184, says he was executed at Berwick.

‡ Rymer, vol. II. p. 482.

ed ineffectual, he determined to do himself justice by force of arms. In this design, he was assisted by his English subjects, who granted him very liberal supplies; and he now attempted to make an experiment of taxation on his new subjects the Welsh. He appointed Roger de Puleston, a man of great eminence in the country, and who was high in his favour, to collect a fifteenth of their moveables.* As yet little inured to the habits of a foreign government, the spirit of the Welsh was set on fire wherever this tax was attempted to be enforced; an assent to which they considered as forming a precedent in future for impositions of the like nature.

Three insurrections sprung up in Wales, in different places, and nearly at the same time; though it does not appear that they were directed by any common principle of union.

* Welsh Chron. p. 380. Carte, vol, II. p. 236, from Walsingham, Chr. Dunstaple. Pat. 22 E. I. m. 28.

The natives of West Wales* rose up in arms, under the leading of Maelgwyn Vychan, and plundered the counties of Pembroke and Caerdigan. The people who inhabited Glamorgan and the Southern parts, also revolted uuder the conduct of a chieftain of the name of Morgan, descended from the ancient lords of that country; and being joined by the principal vassals of the Earl of Gloucester, they drove that nobleman out of his territories, and restored to the Welsh chieftain the inheritance of his ancestors. Madoc, an illegitimate son of the late gallant Llewelyn,† and who had himself assumed the title of Prince, was at the head of the insurgents in North Wales.‡

The revolt opened with acts of hostility, which marked an inveteracy of spirit, and a firm resolution in the Welsh, that the

* Pembrokeshire.

† Mills's Catalouge of Honour. p. 310.

‡ Mat. Westm. p. 190, 191. Welsh Chron. p 380. Holinshead, p. 293.

sword alone should secure their safety, and determine the dispute. Seizing on Roger de Puleston, they caused him to be be hanged, and afterwards cut off his head; the same fate attended all his associates who were concerned in collecting this odious tribute. About the middle of July, Madoc proceeded to Caernarvon, at this time crowded with the English, who had assembled there on account of a great fair. These unarmed people were all slaughtered: the town was plundered and set on fire, and the castle of Caernarvon taken;* the fortress in Snowdun, likewise, fell into the hands of Madoc, and who soon after gained possession of Anglesey.†

A revolt so widely spread, and which had opened with such daring insults, determined Edward to suspend his intended views on the continent, and to recall his

* Mat. Westm. p. 190, 191. Welsh Chron. p. 380. Holinshead, p. 293.

† Carte, vol. II. p. 237, from T. Walsingham. Pat. 22 E. I. m. 28.

forces, at that time ready to embark under the command of his brother the Earl of Lancaster, and of Henry Lacie Lord of Denbigh and Earl of Lincoln. The latter nobleman, with a view of preserving the castle of Denbigh, advanced before the King into North Wales, and proceeding in his route under the walls of that fortress, on the eleventh of November, was suddenly encountered by the Welsh, who, encouraged by the situation of the English army, were desirous of hazarding their fortunes upon the issue of a single battle. The event was glorious to the Welsh; the English forces were defeated and forced to retire*.

The revolt in Pembroke, under the conduct of Maelgwyn Vychan, had not proved so successful; as that chieftain, about this time, was taken prisoner, and being conveyed to Hereford, he was in that city drawn at the tails of horses to the placeof

* Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2471. Polidore Virgil, p. 332. Welsh Chron. p. 380. Holinshead, p. 293.

execution, and hanged with two of his accomplices.*

The Earl of Warwick had already obliged Morgan, the other chieftain who had revolted in South Wales, to submit himself to the royal mercy, with seven hundred of his retainers.† That chief, and others of the Welsh nobility, who were vassals of the Earl of Gloucester, disgusted with the pride of that nobleman, and his arbitrary conduct, had entered into a resolution never to submit to his authority, but offered to yield themselves up to the King, provided they might hold their estates of the crown of England. Being indulged in this request, Morgan and other Welsh chieftains laid down their arms, did homage to Edward, and delivered hostages for their fidelity.‡ At this time the English King was in South Wales, attempting in person to quiet the

* Mat. Westm. p. 191, calls him Chanan.

† Guthrie's Hist. Eng. p. 919.

‡ Mat. Westm. p. 191. Carte, vol. I. p. 237.

disorders of that country. He had been deceived into the expectation that the country of Caerdigan would have followed the example of the people of Glamorgan, but this submission at present not taking place, the English Prince, in resentment of the deception which had been offered him by the abbot of Strata-Florida, set fire to that abbey.*

Alarmed at a revolt which was now rising into importance, and which menaced the safety of his new dominions, Edward came into North Wales to conduct the war in person. Having proceeded in his march to the Conway, he crossed that arm of the sea with a part of his forces, and retiring into the castle, waited for the remainder of his army to follow. In his passage he lost many waggons and other carriages loaded with victuals, which had been intercepted by the Welsh, who in great multitudes came down from the mountains, and invested the castle on

* Guthrie, vol. I. p. 919.

the side of the land. A sudden rise in the Conway, preventing his troops from passing the river, and affording him any assistance, rendered Edward's situation exceedingly alarming; he was in great want of provisions, was cut off from his army, and was surrounded on every side by water and the enemy. The distress of the garrison was so great with respect to provision, that Edward, in common with the soldiers, was obiged to eat salted meat, and the coarse bread which was found in the castle, and to use water likewise for his drink mixed with honey. A single flaggon of wine only remained in the fortress, which being reserved solely for the King's use, that Prince could not be prevailed upon to taste it, but causing it to be mingled with water, he ordered the liquor to be distributed among the garrison, declaring, with a manly spirit, that he would share every extremity with the meanest soldier.* In this perilous state,

* Hen. de Knyghton, p. 2472.

when any moment might have been fatal, Edward's usual good fortune attended him. The Conway suddenly subsiding, his forces were enabled to cross the water and come to his relief. The Welsh, then, abandoned the siege and retired to the mountains of Snowdun. The English King, on the enemies retreat, passed the Christmas holidays without molestation in the Castle of Conway.*

The Earl of Warwick, having received intelligence that a large body of the enemy was encamped in a valley, which was inclosed on each side by a wood, selected for this service a squadron of horse, with a detachment of cross bow-men and archers, and with this force, marching silently in the night, he suddenly surrounded the Welsh, little suspecting an assault. With much coolness, however, the Welsh, fixing their spears in the ground, and presenting a dangerous front, kept off the English horse. Not able to make any impression, the

* Holinshead, p. 293. Welsh Chron. p. 380.

Earl of Warwick placed a cross-bow-man or an archer in every interval between two horsemen; who thus, fighting at a distance, slew great numbers with their shot and arrows, then charging the remaining body with his horse, the Welsh phalanx was broken, and was soon entirely routed with great slaughter.* After this action, Edward, finding no enemy to resist him, crossed over the Menai into Anglesey, where he erected a strong fortress, which he called Beumarish,† as a check to the natives of that island. Then having laid the country more open, by cutting roads through the woods,‡ and having severely punished those persons who had been concerned in the murder of Roger de Puleston, he returned with his army into England.§

All this time, the gallant Madoc, giving way to the storm, though still unbroken in

* J. Rossi. Ant. Warw. p. 166. Holinshead, p. 294.
† Camden's Brit. p. 675. Gibson's edit.
‡ Holinshead, p. 294. Welsh Chron. p. 381.
§ Mat. Westm. p. 191.

his spirit, had retired into a place of security. The young chieftain, no doubt, on his first success, had flattered himself with the hopes of restoring his country to to its ancient freedom.* Incited by this fond idea, the Welsh in great numbers still eagerly joined his standard. On the King's departure, Madoc invaded the English borders. Having reduced Oswestry, and ravaged the adjacent country, he defeated the Lord Strange near Knocking, then again defeating a body of English in another engagement, he proceeded towards Shrewsbury, but during his progress, his forces were routed by the Lords of the marches, and he himself, after a long resistance, was take prisoner upon the hills of Cefn Digoll, not far from Caurs castle.† Madoc was sent up to London, and doomed by King Edward to perpetual imprisonment in the Tower.‡

* Holinshead, p. 294.

† It is said by others, that Madoc was delivered up to Edward by his own army.

‡ Welsh Chron. p. 381.

On this disaster, all the Welsh chieftains laid down their arms and submitted to the English Monarch, whose conduct on this occasion was politic, and tempered in some degree with lenity. No victim was sacrificed to the severity of his justice: he gave to the heirs of the rebellious chieftains their forfeited estates; requiring only a compensation for damages, which he had sustained in the war, with an assurance likewise of implicit obedience for the future. Lest the moderation of his conduct might again incite them to revolt, he assured them, that he would entirely exterminate their nation, if they again presumed to resist his authority.* The A. D. 1295. most eminent of the Welsh nobility were confined in different castles of England, where they remained some years, during the wars of Edward in Scotland;† that Prince, no doubt, regarding their confine-

* Carte's Hist. England, p. 237.

† Hen. de Knyghton de Event. Ang. p. 2472. Holinshead, p. 294. Welsh Chron. p. 382.

ment as the only sure pledge of their fidelity. The greater number of these chieftains were imprisoned in the Tower of London. To sooth their minds during this solitary confinement, banished from their country and their friends, the Welsh chieftains solicited the favour that their manuscripts might be sent to them out of Wales. They were indulged in this reasonable request, and as it is natural to conclude, that they made a free use of this indulgence, in process of time the Tower became the principal repository of Welsh literature. This valuable collection is said to have been committed to the flames by one Scolan,* a person who is only known to the world by having perpetrated so infamous an action, and who might have been instigated to it by the same motive, which impelled Herostratus to set on fire the temple of Diana.

* Jones's Musical and poetical Relics of the Welsh Bards, p. 1.

The insurrections already recited, with the revolt of Sir Gryffydd Llwyd, and the rebellion of Owen Glyndyfrdwy, were the last efforts which the Welsh made to recover the freedom they had lost. Their wild spirit of independence, and their enthusiasm for liberty, from this period gradually declined. The blood of their beloved Princes was nearly extinct; and their native bravery was subdued, or rendered ineffectual, by their intestine divisions, and by their repeated misfortunes. When fierce valour and unregulated freedom are opposed to discipline, to enlarged views, and to sound policy, the contest is very equal; it is not therefore surprising that the genius of England at length obtained the ascendency, It was, indeed, an interesting spectacle, and might justly have excited indignation and pity, to have seen an ancient and gallant nation, falling the victims of private ambition, or sinking under the weight of a superior power. But such emotions, which were then due to that injured people, have lost at this period, their force and their poignancy.

A new train of ideas arise, when we see that the change is beneficial to the vanquished: when we see a wild and precarious liberty succeeded by a freedom, which is secured by equal and fixed laws: when we see manners hostile and barbarous, and a spirit of rapine and cruelty, softened down into the arts of peace, and the milder habits of civilized life: when we see this Remnant of the ancient Britons, uniting in interests, and mingling in friendship with their conquerors, and enjoying with them the same Constitutional Liberties; the purity of which, we trust, will continue uncorrupted as long as the British Empire shall be numbered among the nations of the earth.

THE UNION

OF

WALES WITH ENGLAND.

AFTER the conquest of Wales by Edward the first, the concerns of that country, considered in a national light, are entirely uninteresting; as the inhabitants of which, until the reign of Henry the seventh, were reduced to a state of bondage the most deep and severe.*

Actuated by few other springs than their passions, restrained by no regular police, no longer animated by the presence of their Princes, nor their minds softened by the influence of native arts, the manners of the Welsh nation, for a long period, degenerated into the deepest ferocity. Unemployed in the arts of

* See Statutes respecting Wales in the reigns of Henry the fourth, and Henry the sixth.

peace, little civilized by social intercourse, and enjoying only a narrow and partial hospitality, their eager spirit, no longer directed against a potent and hereditary enemy, naturally sunk into deadly feuds,* or was deeply engaged in the pleasures of the chace.

Though the policy of Edward the first had allowed the Welsh nation to enjoy their liberties, and to hold their estates under ancient tenures, they had much reason to complain of the excessive rigour which had been exercised over them by the officers of justice, and of the rapacity of the English barons who had settled in Wales.†

The powers of the lords marchers were still in their full force, and had been exercised with such severity upon the Welsh, as to render an act of parliament necessary in the reign of Henry the eighth.

* Hist. Gwedir Family, p. 78, 79, &c.
† Hist. Gwedir, Family, p. 30, 31, 34.

The statute is to the following purpose; "Whereas many roberies, murders, and "other evil practices have been daily com- "mitted in the county palatine of Ches- "ter, and Flintshire in Wales, and also "in Anglesea, Caernarvon, Meirionydd, "Caerdigan, Caermarthen, Pembroke, "and Glamorgan; because justice is not "administered there in such form as in "other places of this realm: for the reme- "dy of this, it is enacted, that the Lord "Chancellor of England, or Keeper of "the Great Seal, shall nominate and ap- "point justices of peace, justices of the "quorum, and justices of the gaol-deli- "very in the said counties, and that they "shall have like power and authority as "those in England." This statute in some measure lessened the evils complained of; as it was the means of keeping offenders in awe, they not being able, as before, to escape, and to flee from one lordship marcher to another; it also placed the administration of justice on a more stable foundation.

Another evil had likewise arisen, which strongly marked the oppression of the times; to the remedy of which a succeeding statute was judged necessary, and was to the following effect: "Whereas in Wales "and in the marches, there are many "forests belonging either to the King or "to the lords marchers, wherein sundry "actions have been committed for a long "time, contrary to the law of God and "man; insomuch, that if any person entered the said forests without a *token* given "him by any of the foresters, as a licence "to pass, or unless he was a yearly *tributer* or *chanser*, he was forced to pay a "grievous fine; and if he should chance "to be found twenty-four feet out of the "highway, he was then to forfeit all the "gold or money which was found on his "person, and likewise a joint of one of "his hands, unless he was fined for the "offence at the discretion of the forester, "or farmer of the same. And whereas "likewise, if any cattle strayed into the "said forests, it was the custom of the

" foresters to mark them for their own, " with the mark of the forest." By this statute, it was enacted, that people should be allowed to pass through these forests as freely as in other places; and that strayed cattle, within a year and a day, should be restored to the right owners, they only paying a compensation for the herbage.

These statutes, restraining the powers of the lords marchers, were some years after succeeded by another act of Parliament, which rendered those lords no longer the objects of terror, and entirely destroyed their juridical authority. It was to the following effect: " Whereas by the " gifts of the Kings of England, many of " the most ancient prerogatives and au- " thorities of justice appertaining to the " imperial crown of this realm, have been " severed and taken from the same; it " was then enacted, that no person should " have power and authority to pardon or " to remit treasons, murders, man-slaugh-

"ters, or any felonies, or their accessa-
"ries in any part of England, Wales, or
"in the marches of the same: That like-
"wise no person should make justices of
"oyer, justices of assize, justices of peace,
"or justices of gaol-delivery; but they
"should in future be made only by the
"King's letters patent: and that all ori-
"ginal writs, judicial writs, and all man-
"ner of indictments for treason, felony,
"and trespass, and all manner of process
"should be only made in the King's
"name; and that all offences committed
"against the peace, should be considered
"as an offence committed against the
"King, and not against the peace of any
"other person." These excessive powers, which had been anciently vested in those persons who enjoyed counties palatine, and *jura regalia* in lorship marchers, being thus taken away, a more regular and uniform course of justice was established; and in consequence, the disorders continually occurring within those precincts were in a great measure prevented.

Though these humane and salutary statutes had relieved the Welsh from many of their sufferings, the line of distinction was still preserved, and they yet remained as a separate people; a distinction, contrary to all just ideas of government, and which could only serve to keep alive their national prejudices. But the Welsh themselves, and it may be recorded to their honour, solicited Henry the eighth that he would extend his liberal designs, and would give them a still more salutary effect. The petition itself, which they sent to that Monarch, will best explain their extensive views and manly spirit, as well as the nature and justice of their claims.

"May it please your Highness."

"We, on the part of your Highness's
"subjects, inhabiting that portion of the
"island which our invaders first called
"Wales, most humbly prostrate at your
"Highness's feet, do crave to be received
"and adopted into the same laws, and

" privileges, which your subjects enjoy: " neither shall it hinder us (we hope) that " we have lived so long under our own. " For as they were both enacted by " authority of our ancient law-givers, and " obeyed for many successions of ages, " we trust your Highness will pardon us, " if we thought it neither easy nor safe so " suddenly to relinquish them. We shall " not pesume yet to compare them with " these now used, and less shall we con- " test how good and equal in themselves " they are. Only if the defence of them " and our liberty against the Romans, " Saxons, and Danes, for so many hun- " dred years, and lastly against the Nor- " mans, as long as they pretended no title " but the sword, was thought just and " honourable; we presume it will not be " infamous now; and that all the marks " of rebellion and falshood, which our " revilers would fasten on us, will fall on " any, sooner than those who fought for " so many years, and with so different " nations for our just defence; which

" also is so true, that our best histories " affirm the christian religion to have " been preserved only by us for many " years that the Saxons (being heathens) " either attempted or possessed this coun- " try. May your Highness then graci- " ously interpret our actions while we did " but that duty which your Highness " would have now done by all your sub- " jects on like occasion; for when any " should invade this country henceforth, " we know your Highness would have us " to behave ourselves no otherwise. Be- " sides, had not the assailers found some " resistance, they might have despised a " country, that brought none forth able " enough to assert it; so that we crave " pardon, Sir, if we say it was fit for the " honour of your dominions that some " part of it should never be conquered. " We then in the name of whatsoever in " your Highness's possession hath in any " age held out against all invaders, do " here voluntarily resign, and humble " ourselves to that sovereignty, which we

"acknowledge so well invested in your "Highness. Nor is this the first time; "we have always attended on occasion to "unite ourselves to the greater and better "parts of the island,

"But as the Kings of this realm, weary "of their attempts in persons against us, "did formerly give not only our country "to those who could conquer it, but per-"mitted them *jura regalia*, within their "several precincts; so it was impossible "to come to an agreement, while so "many that undertook this work, usurped "martial and absolute power and jurisdic-"tion in all they acquired, without es-"tablishing any equal justice. And that "all offenders flying from one lordship "marcher (for so they were termed) to "another, did both avoid the punishment "of the law, and easily commit those rob-"beries, which formerly tainted the ho-"nour of our parts. So that until the "rigorous laws, not only of the several "conquerors of England, but the at-

" tempters on our parts, were brought to " an equal moderation, no union, how " muchsoever affected by us, could ensue.

" Therefore, and not sooner, we sub- " mitted ourselves to Edward the First, " a Prince, who made both many and " equaller laws than any before him; " therefore we defended his son Edward " the second, when not only the English " forsook him, but ourselves might have " recovered our former liberty, had we " desired it. Therefore we got victories " for Edward the third, and stood firm " during all the dissensions of this realm " to his grandchild and successor Richard " the second. Only if some amongst us " resisted Henry the fourth, your High- " ness may better suppose the reason than " we tell it, though divers foreigners open- " ly refusing to treat with him as a so- " vereign and lawful Prince, have suffici- " ently published it. We did not yet " decline due obedience to Henry the " fifth, though in doubtful times, we " cannot deny, but many refractory per-

" sons have appeared. Howsoever, we
" never joined ourselves with the English
" rebels, or took occasion thereby to re-
" cover our liberty, though in Richard
" the second's time, and during all the
" civil wars betwixt Lancaster and York,
" much occasion was given. For adher-
" ing to the house of York, which we
" conceived the better title, we conserved
" our devotion still to the crown, until
" your Highness's father's time, who
" (bearing his name and blood from us) was
" the more chearfully assisted by our pre-
" decessors in his title to the crown, which
" your Highness doth presently enjoy.
" And thus, Sir, if we gave anciently
" proof of a generous courage in defend-
" ing our laws and country, we have given
" no less proof of a loyal fidelity since we
" first rendered ourselves. In so much,
" that we may truly affirm, that after our
" acceptance of the condition given us
" by Edward the first, we have omitted no
" occasion of performing the duty of lov-
" ing subjects. Neither is there any
" thing that comforts us more, than that

" all those controversies about succession
" (which so long wasted this land) are
" determined in your Highness's person,
" in whom we acknowledge both Houses
" to be happily united.

" To your Highness therefore we offer
" all obedience, desiring only that we
" may be defended against the insults of
" our malignant censurers: for we are
" not the offspring of the run-away Bri-
" tons, (as they term us) but natives of a
" country, which, besides defending it-
" self, received all those who came to us
" for succours. Give us then (Sir) per-
" mission to say, that they wrong us
" much, who pretend our country was not
" inhabited before them, or that it failed
" in a due piety, when it was so hospitable
" to all that fled thither for refuge; which
" also will be more credible, when it shall
" be remembered, that even our highest
" mountains furnish good beef and mut-
" ton, not only to all the inhabitants, but
" supply England in great quantity. We

"humbly beseech your Highness there-
"fore, that this note may be taken from
"us. As for our language, though it
"seem harsh, it is that yet which was
"spoken anciently, not only in this island,
"but in France: some dialects whereof
"therefore remain still amongst the *Bas-*
"*Bretons* there, and here in Cornwall.
"neither will any man doubt it, when he
"shall find those words of the ancient
"Gaulish language repeated by the Latin
"authors, to signify the same thing
"amongst us at this day: nor shall it
"be a disparagement (we hope) that it is
"spoken so much in the throat, since the
"Florentine and Spaniard affect this kind
"of pronunciation, as believing words that
"sound so deep proceed from the heart.
"So that if we have retained this lan-
"guage longer than the more Northern
"inhabitants of this island (whose speech
"appears manifestly to be a kind of
"English, and consequently introduced
"by the Saxons) we hope it will be no
"imputation to us; your Highness will

" have but the more tongues to serve " you: it shall not hinder us to study " English, when it were but to learn how " we might the better serve and obey " your Highness: to whose laws we must " humbly desire again to be adopted; " and doubt not, but if in all countries " mountains have afforded as eminent " wits and spirits as any other part, ours " also, by your Higness's good favour " and employment, may receive that es- " teem."

The King of England having considered the loyalty of his Welsh subjects and the reasonable nature of their claim, ordered a statute to be enacted in parliament, which entirely united Wales with his English dominions; regarding no doubt, such an union as an object of sound policy.

The statute is to this effect.

" That as the dominion, principality " and conntry of Wales is a member and

"part of the temporal crown of this "realm, whereof therefore the King is "head and ruler; yet as it hath divers "rights, usages, laws and customs very "different to the laws and customs of this "realm, and because the language of that "country is different from that which is "spoken here, and that many rude peo-"ple hereupon have made distinction and "diversity betwixt his Highness's other "subjects, and them, to the causing of "much discord and sedition; his High-"ness therefore, out of his love and fa-"vour to his subjects in Wales, and for "reducing them to his laws, doth by ad-"vice and consent of his parliament or-"dain and enact, that Wales shall be "united and incorporated henceforth to "and with his realm of England; and that "his subjects in Wales shall enjoy and "inherit all singular freedoms, liberties, "rights, privileges and laws which his "Highness's subjects elsewhere enjoy and "inherit. And therefore that inheri-"tances shall descend after the manner of "England, without division or partition,

"and not after any tenure or form of "Welsh laws or customs. And forasmuch "as there are divers lordships marchers "within the said country or dominion in "Wales, being no parcel of any other "shires where the laws and due correc- "tion is used and had, and that in them "and the countries adjoining manifold "murders, robberies, felonies, and the "like, have been done, contrary to all "law and justice, because the offenders, "making their refuge from one lordship "marcher to another, were continued with- "out punishment and correction: there- "fore it is enacted that the said lordships "marchers shall be united, annexed, and "joined to divers shires specified in the said act."*

This statute was put into immediate execution. The utility of which has been

* This account of the abolition of lordships marchers, and of the petition of the Welsh to Henry the eighth, has been taken from lord Herbert of Cherbury, in his history of the reign of that Monarch.

fully justified by the experience of nearly three centuries. During this time, the genius of the Welsh nation has taken a different turn, has composed itself to rational obedience, and has been directed to those pursuits which tend to polish their manners, to enlarge their views, and to cultivate their minds; and, by consequence, to promote the happiness of individuals, as well as the best interests of the public.

THE

INTRODUCTION AND PROGRESS

OF

CHRISTIANITY

IN

BRITAIN AND IN CAMBRIA.

THE Saxons having destroyed, with barbarous rage, the ancient monuments of the British history, it is difficult to determine, at this time, whether Christianity was established by the divine mission of the Apostles and their first disciples, or by the pious labours of the succeeding Missionaries.* This event, from the want of authentic records, forms a doubtful part of history, being nearly lost in the darkness of those times, and eveloped amidst the legendary fable of the monks. It is however allowed, that Christianity was

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History.

introduced about the middle of the first century, having been perhaps in some degree
A. D. 60.
favoured by an edict of the emperor Claudius, which had been issued to exterminate Druidical religion.* But though the *Christain faith* had been thus early planted in the island, it does not appear to have taken any root, or to have spread, until the time of Lucius, who is said to have reigned in Britain about the end of the second century.† Soon after the conversion of this prince from paganism, he sent ambasadors to Eleutherius, the bishop of Rome, to solicit the assistance of pious and learned men, by whose labours his faith might be confirmed, and Christianity extended through the nation. By the industry and zeal of *those* who in consequence were sent by the prelate, the Britons were in general converted, and the British church received at that period

* Whitaker's Hist. Manchester, vol. II. p. 187.

† Veritigan, in his Epistle to the English Nation, p. 2. Flor. Wighorne. Mar. Sabellicus. Godwin's English Bishops.

a considerable degree of strength and union, by being reduced into a regular establishment* This prince is said to have converted the heathen temples into places of Christian worship, and to have divided the national church into three ecclessiastical provinces, each of which was a *metropolitian see*, and the residence of an archbishop. The first see was fixed at London, and contained within its province the south of England. The second was settled at Caer Lleon upon Uske in Monmouthshire, and held within its jurisdiction *Cambria*, or Wales. The third see was established at York, which extended its ecclesiastical power over the Northern parts of the island.† Besides three archbishops, there were twent-eight suffragan bishops; the whole being equal to the number of archflamens and flamens, who had presided over the Pagan hierarchy in

A. D. 180.

* Archbishop Usher, cap. viii. 4. Mosheim, vol. I. p. 121. Godwin's English Bishops. Geoffry Monmouth.

† Rowland's Mona Antiq. p. 142.

Britain.* At the same time that Christianity acquired this degree of regularity, a school for religious learning was established at *Bangor-is-Coed* in Flintshire, which afterwards became the great seminary of knowledge for the province of Cambria†

To decide upon the credit which is due to this legend is a difficult point to the historian, many learned writers having held different opinions with respect to the real existence of Lucius; on the authenticity of which is founded the fabric of the early British church. The evidence of Tertulian and Origen, who lived about the second century, and of St. Chrysostome and other fathers of a later period, bear testimony to the early introduction of Christianity into the island, as well as to the salutary effects which it had produced

* Godwin's English Bishops, p. 157. Geoffry Monmouth. Speed's Chron. p. 79.

† Rowland's Mona. p. 142.

upon the manners of the Britons.* The British bishops also appear to have attained a degree of pre-eminency, in the public councils of the church, on account of the Christian *faith* having been earlier established in Britain than in any of the Western parts of Europe.†

The flames of persecution, which under several emperors had raged in various parts of the Roman empire, had not extended into Britain before the reign of Dioclesian; and from the first establishment of the church under Lucius to this period, it enjoyed an universal tranquillity.‡ But the rapid progress of Christianity alarmed the heathen priests, who were afraid lest their power, together with *Polytheism*, would sink under that ascendency which the new religion was acquiring over the minds of men. Influenced by these A. D. 284.

* Speed's Chron. p. 76, 77.

† Rowland's Mona, p. 138.

‡ Godwin's English Bishops, 157. Speed's Chron. p. 79.

motives, they assailed the fears of Dioclesian with unjust accusations against the Christians; imposing on him fictitious oracles, and other insidious arts, which influence the timid and superstitious.* After some resitance, the zeal of this prince was inflamed by an interested priesthood, and a cruel persecution ensued, which was of so long continuance, that it had nearly
A. D. 286. proved fatal to the Christian cause † The church of Britain shared in the general calamity; for, during its progress the sacred edifices were destoyed, the priests were massacred, and the people were either killed, or obliged to abjure their religion. The first person who sealed with martyrdom his faith in the religion of Christ, was Alban of the city Verulamium, who was beheaded upon the site of the present town of St, Alban's; ‡ and at the

* Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. I. p. 256. Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 157.

† Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. I. p. 258.

‡ In honour of this Saint, Offa, king of the Mercians, built the monastry of St. Alban's.

same time, and near the same place, suffered Amphibalus, who had converted that *father* to Christianity.* The next martyrs of eminence were Aaron and Julius, who were put to death at Caer Lleon upon Uske; † and at Litchfield a thousand Christians are said to have fallen the victims of this cruel persecution.‡

So late as about this period druidical religion remained in Scotland, and in the adjacent islands; but Cratylinth, a king of that country, out of zeal for Christianity, began his reign by the expulsion of the Druids; and having driven them out of the Isle of Man,§ which was the presidency of the *Order*, and a part of his dominions, he erected there a stately church, to the honour of Christ, which he

* Speed's Chron. p. 79. from Bede. Godwin's Bishops, p. 157. Carte, vol. I. p. 136.

† Matth. Paris.

‡ Giraldus Cambrensis Item. lib. I. cap. V. Geoffry Monmouth. Bede. Carte, vol. I. p. 136.

§ Or *Mon*.

named *Soderense Fanum*, or our Saviour's Church.*

Though the situation of the British Church, during the late persecution, was truly calamitous, her sufferings were al-
A. D. 286, to 296. leviated by the shortness of their duration; for Carausius, and after him Allectus,† when they usurped the sovereignty of the island, had too much policy to irritate their subjects, by urging the fury of the Imperial edicts. And when Constantius presided over Gaul and Britain in the quality of Cæsar, he had deserted the religion of his ancestors; and he preserved in safety the provinces under his own government, amidst the violence of those storms which desolated the other parts of the Christian world.‡ Afterwards when that prince had succeeded to
A. D. 307. the *Purple* as Emperor of the West, he passed the small remainder of his days in

* Rowland, p. 108.

† Carte, vol. I. p. 136, 146.

‡ Mosheim, vol. I. p. 256, 258, 259.

Britain; and besides the zeal which was natural to a convert, he had an additional motive for shewing favour to the church, by having married in his youth, Helena, who was a Christian princess of the island.* But under the auspices of Constantine the *Great*, whose elevated qualities had seated him without a rival on the Imperial throne, Christianity became the establised religion of the empire.† A luminous appearance of a cross seen in the air at noon day by Constantine, as he was marching towards Rome to attack Maxentius, with the inscription upon it of *Hoc signo Vinces*, is attested by an ancient writer‡ as the cause of this prince's conversion.§ But whether this event was owing to such an interposition of heaven, or to the same appearance being exhibited in a dream, or to motives of human policy,

A. D. 312.

* Carte, vol. I. p. 147. Speed's Chron. p. 156. Verstegan, in his Epistle to the English Nation, p. 4.

† Mosheim, vol. I. p. 262, 266.

‡ Eusebius.

§ Mosheim, vol. I. p. 263, 264, 266.

must be left at this day, amidst a variety of opinions, doubtful and undecided.

The spirit of persecution having ceased, and paganism having sunk under the influence of the mild or decisive qualities of these emperors, though under the direction of a higher and superior influence, the British church began to attain some degree of stability and eminence; the places of divine worship, which had been demolised in the late troubles, were rebuilt, and new ones were erected to the honour of those martyrs who had suffered in the Christian cause.*

Constantine the Great, having assumed the supreme direction of the Catholic or universal church, appointed all affairs of importance, and whatever related to the general interests of Christianity, to be decided in public *Councils*, which were to be composed of delegates from the different

* Speed's Chron. p. 79.

churches in the empire.* The first assembly of this kind was at Arles, to which Synod the British bishops in common with the other deputies were convened, to examine into and decide upon the affair of the Donatists.† These prelates are supposed to have been the archbishops of London, York, and Caer Lleon.‡ The doctrine of Arius having made great progress in the church, and occasioned great disquietudes among the Christians, the *council* of *Nice* was assembled to determine upon that celebrated controversy, in which the British deputies assisted, and gave judgment against the Arian opinions.§ A few years after they were summoned to the second *council* of *Arles*, to give their suffrages to reinstate Arius and his followers in the

A. D. 314.

A. D. 325.

A. D. 335.

* Mosheim, vol. I. p, 282.

† Carte, vol. 1. p. 282.

‡ Rapin, vol. I. p. 29.

§ Mosheim, vol. I. p. 336. Speed, p. 79. Rapin, vol. I. p. 29.

A. D. 337. privileges and communion of the church.* Soon after this event died Constantine the Great. His son Constantius succeeded to a great part of the empire, and to his predilection for Arian opinions.† During A. D. 359. the reign of this prince a council was held at Ariminum in favour of that sect, where we find that the British bishops‡ had the firmness to give their suffrages against the Imperial authority ||

From the decline of the Roman power to the final establishment of the Saxons on the island, the British church exhibited a scene of desolation. The usurpation of Maximus and other similar events; the precarious authority of the Roman edicts,

* A *council* was held at *Tyre*, in the same year, for the above purpose of restoring *Arius*. Mosheim. Speed, p. 80.

† Mosheim, vol. I. p. 340.

‡ The British prelates, with those of France travelled at their own expence, having refused the offer made to them by the emperor of paying the charges of their journey.

|| Speed's Chron. p. 79. Du Pin, vol. I. p. 263.

their troops having been gradually withdrawn out of the island; the devastation occasioned by the Picts and Scots with the fierce contests between the Britons and the Saxons, conspired to render the state of Christianity deplorable.* In the course of this period the British churches demolished; immense numbers of Cristians were put to death by the Saxons, who Still adhered to the Pagan theology; the body of the people were sunk into a state of ignorance for want of proper culture; a remissness of discipline prevailed, and a general profligacy was introduced among the clergy.†

During this season of confusion the opinions of Pelagius had taken root, and had made considerable advances in the British church. This person was a native of the island, and had been educated in the monastry of Bangor about the middle

* Bede's Eccles. Hist. lib. I. cap. 14. p. 52.

†Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. 1. p. 362. Rapin, vol. 1. p. 29. Carte, vol. p. 184.

‡ Rapin, vol. I. p. 29. Rowland, p. 183.

of the fourth century.‡ The British clergy being alarmed at the growth of his doctrines, and unable, perhaps, for want of learning, to withstand their force or subtilty, implored the assistance of the Gallican church, who deputed St. Germain the bishop of Auxerre, with Lupus the bishop of Troyes, to come over into Britain, and to prevent, if possible, their farther progress* A so-
A. D. 429. lemn conference being held at Verulamium, between the established clergy and the Pelagians; the learned bishops are said to have defended the cause of their mission with such ability, as to convert many of those sectaries from the supposed error of their opinions.†

Though the seeds of Christianity had been sowed in Ireland by Palladius and a fellow missionary, they afterwards arrived at maturity under the long and pious labours of St Patrick, who having con-

* Geoffry Monmouth. Rapin, vol. I. p. 29.
† Ibid.

verted the Irish to the christian faith, presided over their church for more than half a century* A. D. 433

The opinions of Pelagius still prevailing after the return of the missionaries, a council of Gallican bishops deputed St. Germain to come over a second time into Britain; who, despairing of conquering the evil by mildness or conviction, made use of a more compulsory argument; and put in force the edict of Valentinian, which had ordained the penalty of banishment to heretics who could not be reclaimed.† The zeal of the British clergy in this early period of christianity, indicates, in some degree, a deficiency in liberal and enlarged sentiments. A. D. 447.

Such was the state of the British Church when St. Germain came upon his second mission. Regarding ignorance as the source of heresy and of the general depravity of manners, he instituted seminaries

* Rapin Vol. I p. 43. † Ibid p. 29.

of learning; particularly for the use of those persons who were intended for holy orders.* But the reformation of Cambria appears to have been the object of his peculiar attention, where he principally resided during his abode in Britain; the inhabitants of that mountainous region being not yet entirely emerged out of a state of idolatry.*

To remedy these evils, and to render permanent this work of conversion; with an extension of liberal policy equal to his zeal, St. Germain instituted many schools and colleges for the instruction of youth, and for a regular supply of learned men in the ministry of the church. In these seminaries were educated many illustrious persons who afterwards sustained the cause of christianity in the most difficult and perilous seasons.‡

* Rapin, vol. I. p. 43. Carte, vol. I. p. 185.

† Carte, vol. I. p. 185.

‡ Rapin, vol. I. p. 43. Carte, vol. I. p. 185.

The two most eminent of these schools were established at Henllan and Mochross, places situated on the banks of the Wye, in South Wales; under the immediate direction of Dubricius; who became afterwards so very famous for his learning and piety, that he usually had under his tuition a thousand scholars, who resorted to him from every part of the island.* Another person of eminence, called Iltutus,† was ordained presbyter by St. Germain; and he likewise was placed at the head of several schools which were in great repute and filled with the sons of the British nobility. Among the number of his disciples was the famous Gildas‡ the historian, and and Daniel, afterwards bishop of Bangor.§ Paulinus,‖ another disciple of St. Germain

* Carte vol. I p. 185. † *Elltyd.*

‡ Son of *Caw*, a Northern Briton, who having lost his territory entered into a religious life.

§ Carte vol. I p. 186.

‖ His original name was *Rhun*. He was son of *Urien Reged*, a prince of a district in the north of England.

settled a school at Whiteland * in Caermarthenshire; under whom studied for ten years the celebrated St. David.† Another school was likewise established at Llancarvan near Cowbridge.‡ These seminaries, with the improvement of the great monastery of Bangor in Flintshire, are monuments of the pious labours of St. Germain, during his abode in Cambria, and on his second mission into Britain.

It has been already observed, that a metropolitan see had been established many years at Caer Lleon upon Uske in Monmouthshire. At this period St. Germain consecrated Dubricius§ to the see of Llandaff; but he was soon after appointed archbishop of Caer Lleon, and primate of all Wales.|| This father of the Cambrian church, was a person of eminent learning and integrity; and distinguished himself

* *Ty Gwyn ar Daf.* † Carte vol. I. p. 186.

‡ Ibid. || *Dufrig.*

§ Rap. vol. I. p. 43. Godwin's Eng. Bishops p. 413.

against the Pelagian doctrines, in a synod which was held at Brevi,* in Caerdiganshire.† After having lived to crown Uthur Pendragon, and the great Arthur, respectively kings of Britain, he resigned to St. David the primacy of Wales; and retired to the island of Bardsey,‡ where he died, having resided in that place many years, as a religious recluse.

The manner of endowing the see of Llandaff with land when it was first founded, marks the degree of freedom which prevailed in those early times. This land was given to Drubicius, by Meiric the First, a prince of Glamorganshire, in a general council of his nation, and with the consent of the nobility, the clergy, and laity; the same mode of procedure prevailing in every grant which

* *Llanddewi Brefi.*

† Rapin, vol. I. p. 48. Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 413.

‡ Or the Bards isle, on the coast of Caernarvonshire.

§ Godwin's Eng. Bish. p. 419. Rapin, vol. I. p. 43.

was made to the church, down to the Norman conquest.*

There was something distinguishing in the birth, and in the personal qualities of David, the national saint of Wales, and the brightest ornament of its church. This celebrated person was uncle to king Arthur, and was the son of a prince of that country.† He was tall of stature, and of a comely personage, was a man of learning and eloquence, and of great austerity in his life and manners. By the industry and zeal of St. David, the opinions of Pelagius were eradicated, and the most eminent professors of his doctrines were converted to the orthodox faith.§ With the consent of king Arthur, he removed the metropolitan see from Caer Lleon to Menevia,|| which place ever since

* Carte, vol. I. p. 186.

† *Dewi Sant ab Cedig ab Caredig ab Cynedda Wledig.* Bonedd y Saint, a very ancient British MS.

‡ Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 414. § Ibid.

|| *Hen Fynyw.*

has been called Ty Dewi by the Welsh, and St. David by the English. The noisy intercourse of a pupulous city like Caer Lleon, being ill adapted for contemplation, was not suited to his solitary cast of mind, and rigid sentiments of piety; and on that account he removed the see to Menevia, as to a more sequestered situation.* After being seated in the see of St. David sixty-five years, and having built twelve monasteries; after having been exemplary in the piety of those days, this holy person died at a most advanced period of human life, having attained, as it is said, to the age of one hundred and forty-six years. He was buried in the cathedral church of St. David, and many hundred years after was canonized by Pope Calistus the Second.† The supposed power of working miracles, which a superstitious age had ascribed to St. David, was probably owing to the great length and to the extraordinary sanctity

* Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 414.

† Ibid.

of his life. After his death no memorable transaction occurred for many years in the archiespicopal see of St David. In the time of Sampson, who was the twenty-sixth bishop in succession, there were seven suffragan bishops, who belonged to that see, and were subject to his authority; namely, those of Exeter, Bath, Hereford, Llandaff, Bangor, St. Asaph, and Fernes in Ireland.* This bishop having fled into Britany on account of a contagious distemper, which raged in his own country, he carried with him the archiepiscopal pall of St. David, and from this circumstance, or from their poverty or negligence, the title of archbishop was lost ever after to the successors of Sampson. But they long retained, beyond this period, that authority, which had been usually annexed to the archiepiscopal dignity; and they acknowledged no dependency on the see of Canterbury, until the time of king Henry the First.†

* Godwin, p. 417. Giraldus. Humfrey Lluyd's Breviary, p. 76. 77. † Ibid.

It is reported of Morgeneu, the thirty-third bishop of St. David, that having presumed to eat flesh contrary to the austere habits of the primitive fathers, he was afterwards murdered by pirates; and this was regarded by the superstitious Giraldus as a punishment of heaven for so heinious an offence.*

In the reign of Henry the First, the see of St. David fell under the jurisdiction of Canterbury, the archbishop having consecrated to this see one Barnard, a Norman, and chaplain to Henry the First, without the consent of the clergy of Wales, in whom had uniformly remained the power of electing their bishops † The bishopric of St. David was valued in the exchequer at £426 : 2 : 1, and in the Pope's books at 1500 ducats.‡

* Godwin, p. 417. Giraldus. Humfrey Lluyd's Breviary, p. 76, 77.

† Welsh Chron. p. 175. Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 418, 422.

‡ Ibid. p. 423.

There is no mention of any bishop of Llandaff preceding the time of Dubricius, who was consecrated to that see by St. Germain.* But that prelate was soon succeeded by St. Teilaw; he himself being translated to the see of St. David. St. Teilaw, the second bishop, was a person of noble birth, and was educated in one of those seminaries, which had been instituted by St. Germain; he was slain by a nobleman in his own cathredral, where he was buried; and which church, after him, took the name of Llan Deilaw.† The dependency of this see on the archbishop of Canterbury is implied, by St. Dunstan's having consecrated Godwinus bishop thereof about the year nine hundred and eighty-two.‡ This bishopric was valued in the exchequer at £154 : 14 : 1, and paid to the Pope for first-fruits 700 ducats.§

A. D. 470. About this period a provincial council was held in Britain for the reformation of

* Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 423. † Ibid.
‡ Ibid. p. 425. § Ibid. p. 429.

religion, and for repairing the ruined churches; both of which the marriage of Vortigern with a pagan princess had contributed to bring into decay.*

At this time, the establishment of the gospel among the Picts and Scots was considerably advanced, by the zeal and pious labours of St. Columba, an Irish monk.† A. D. 522.

Daniel, the son of Dynothus,‡ the last abbot of Bangor, in Flintshire, having founded a school in Caernarvonshire for the instruction of youth, gave to that place the name of Bangor; § which some time after was erected into a bishopric, and was endowed with lands and franchises by Maelgwyn Gwynedd, the king of North Wales.|| Daniel was consecrated to that see by Dubricius, the archbishop of St. David.**

* Godwin's English Bishops, p. 429.

† Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. I. p. 430.

‡ *Dinoeth.*

§ Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 184.

|| Ibid. p. 187. ** Ibid. p. 184.

St. Kentigern* abbot of Glasgow, and son to a princess of the Picts, having been obliged to quit Scotland, obtained licence to build a college at Llan Elwy in Flintshire; † at which place he instituted a bishop's see; and on his return into his own country, he appointed Asaph, his disciple, to succeed him, who gave his name to the present see of St. Asaph ‡

A. D. 590.

It does not appear that the clergy in these early times, had any distinct *cures* or *parishes* where they resided, but they lived, together with their bishops, on the emoluments of the church, in collegiate bodies; in the same manner as at the great monastery of Bangor. In these colleges, the clergy were habituated to the exercises of reading and prayer, and were obliged to perform the offices of their function in those districts, to which they

* *Cyndeyrn Garthwys.*

† Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 542. Rapin, vol. I. p. 43.

‡ Camden's Britannia.

were allotted by their bishops.* But during this period we do not find that there were many churches in the island; the places appointed for divine worship, were chiefly, a few scattered cloisters and oratories; where the minister of the district came at stated times to read, and to preach the word of God, and to administer the sacraments to the people.† It is probable likewise that the nobility had chapels joined to their mansions, for the benefit of their own families and their surrounding dependents.‡

The church of Cambria had hitherto preserved her independency on Rome,§ and though the spirit of innovation had been longer opposed by the *British* than it had been by the *English* clergy, yet in the end, the Romish superstitions prevailed. There was one injuction however, the *celibacy* of the clergy, which was

* Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 143. † Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 144. § Ibid. p. 149.

resisted with a successful and an uniform firmness,* as a source of profligacy, as innovating on the rights of nature, and as violating the dearest interests of humanity.

It has been already observed, that the Saxons, during their contest with the Britons, and for some time after they had established their dominion, adhered to the religion of their their ancestors, and that Christianity prevailed in very few places, except in those, which still remained unsubdued by that fierce people.

During the reign of Ethelbert, the conversion of the Saxons was undertaken at the instigation of Gregory, the bishop of Rome, by St. Austin or Augustine.† The supreme authority over the British church having been given to St. Austin by Gregory, and having received at his hand the

* Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 149.

* Verstegan, chap. v. p. 142.

Pall,* as the ensign of his patriarchal dignity, that missionary resolved to make an experiment of its virtue, by attempting to exert a controuling power over the bishops in Cambria.† There was a difference subsisting at this time between the Cambrian church and that of Rome, in the observance of the sacrament of baptism, and of the ceremony of keeping Easter. To produce an uniformity in worship, and to establish his own supremacy, St. Austin obtained a meeting with some of the British clergy at Aust-Cliffe, in Gloucestershire.‡ But not being impowered to concede to his demands, or remaining unconvinced by his arguments, the clergy

* The Pall was a rich robe of state, very magnificent, and hanging down to the ground; it was a part of the imperial habit, and allowed to the bishop of Rome by the favour of one of the Roman emperors. The Pall was usually given to the patriarchs, when that system of government first took place in the church.

† Carte, vol. I. p. 223, 224. Geoffry Monmouth. Godwin's English Bishops, p. 6.

‡ Verstegan, chap. v. p. 14?.

referred the decision of the points in dispute to another more general conference.* To this assembly, which soon after ensued, were convened seven British bishops, and many learned men from the monastery of Bangor. St. Austin likewise appeared there, in all the pomp of spiritual insolence and pride, being ushered into the assembly by a singing procession, and with his banner and his cross displayed.† The British deputies, before they came to the assembly, had consulted an *anchorite*, whether they should submit to the spiritual direction of St. Austin, or should preserve their native independency. This holy person advised them, if St. Austin followed the example of his *Master*, and conducted himself by a meek and humble spirit, that they should observe his rules, and submit to his authority, but if he demeaned himsef with haughtiness, and despised their modest appearance, that they

* Verstegan, chap. v. p. 142.

† Carte, vol. I. p. 223, 224. Geoffry Monmouth. Godwin's English Bishops, p. 6.

should then shew an equal disdain for him and his councils.* Agreeably to this advice, the deputies waited until St. Austin had taken his seat in the assembly; and when they made their appearance, the haughty prelate neither rose from his place, nor gave them any kind of salutation. Affronted at his arrogance and affected superiority, the British deputies firmly opposed him in every point of innovation, and told him, that though his opinions were grounded on the authority of Gregory, their doctrines had long since an equal sanction in the approbation of Eleutherius; that they would yield obedience to their own archbishop, who resided at St. David, but would never submit to one whose person and language were as much unknown to them as were his sentiments and doctrines.† When St. Austin found he could not gain upon the firmness of the clergy, he relaxed from his haughti-

* Archbishop Usher, cap. III. Godwin's Eng. Bishops, p. 5, 6. Geoffry Monmouth.

† Ibid.

ness, and desired that they would administer baptism, and would observe the ceremony of keeping Easter after the Romish manner, and that they would likewise assist him to complete the conversion of the Saxons.* But the British deputies continuing firm in their refusal on any terms to join with St. Austin, he solemnly denounced against them the judgment of God, predicted an impending calamity, and confidently assured them, that as they would not accept of peace with their Christian brethren, they would soon have war with their Pagan enemies, and that they would soon find death by the swords of *those*, to whom they had now refused to preach the word of life.† These threats, denounced by a mortified and irritated prelate, were soon after accomplished; by the invasion of Ethelfrid, and by the defeat of the Britons at the battle of Chester, with the massacre of

* Geoff. Monmouth. Godwin's English Bishops, p. 5, 6.

† Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 151. Geoff. Monmouth.

eleven hundred and fifty *religious* who resided in the great monastery of Bangor.*

Though this blow had nearly proved fatal to the *religious order*, it was eventually a permanent advantage to the church, having been the original cause of producing the institution of parishes, and of the residence of the clergy within those allotted districts. The seminary of Bangor having been entirely destroyed, after this defeat of the Britons, and the Saxons having made their hostile advances to the banks of the Dee, it became necessary to provide for the safety of the clergy, by placing them at a greater distance from danger, in the interior parts of the country.† The urgency of the times contributed likewise to this salutary measure. A more immediate intercourse between the clergy and the people, and a keener vigilance in their pastors became neces-

* Humfrey Lluyd's Breviary, p. 26, says two thousand monks.

† Rowland, p. 151. Geoffry Monmouth.

sary, when *superstition* was innovating upon the purity of the church, and was diffusing its errors with a zealous and persevering industry.*

On the dispersion of the clergy from the monastery of Bangor, the greatest part of them had settled in North Wales, and the remainder are supposed to have served, as a supply in the ministry of the church, in South Wales, and in Armorica.† The bishops, and other men of eminence in the Cambrian church, with great industry and zeal, travelled through the country, exhorting the princes and the nobility to assist them in erecting cells and cloisters for the purposes of divine worship, in which places they fixed the subordinate clergy, who were to perform the functions of religion in their particular districts.‡ This was the origin of *residentiary cures.*

* Rowland, p. 151.

† Ibid. p. 152. Matth. Westm. p. 150.

‡ Rowland, p. 153.

There is reason to suppose that the cells of these times, were originally erected equally for the dwellings of the priests, as for the purposes of religion; but at the same time, they acquired a sacred estimation, by being dedicated to the worship of God. The sites of the most ancient Welsh churches seem to favour this opinion, being usually found in desolate and unfrequented situations, and as such were more calculated for the solitary abode of *ascetics*, than for the general conveniency of religious assemblies.* To these churches, *wakes* or anniversary *feast* days were appointed, to the honour of the saints to whom they were dedicated. These *festivals* were usually celebrated either on the Sunday preceding, or on that immediately after the *saint's* day.†

About this period, three hundred and eleven parishes were established in North Wales; in the island of Anglesey, there

* Rowland, p. 158.

† Ibid, p. 159.

were seventy-four, in Caernarvonshire, sixty-eight, in Montgomeryshire, forty-seven, in Denbighshire, fifty-seven, in Flintshire, twenty-eight, and in Meirionethshire, thirty-seven.*

During the efforts of St. Austin to destroy the independency of the Cambrian church, the clergy were collected into different *conventual bodies*, perhaps a vestige of the druidical establishment, under the direction of their peculiar bishops.† In this season of danger, while an ambitious priesthood were attempting to establish a spiritual tyranny upon the weakness of human reason,‡ all orders of people took the alarm. The nobility and the bards exerted their zeal on this occasion; and Taliesin§ who flourished in that period, A. D. exercised his genius in poetry, to excite 600. the vigilance and to animate the zeal of

* Rowland, p. 152.

† Ibid. p. 149, 150. ‡ Ibid.

§ Several of the poems of this bard are now extant in MSS.

the British clergy. The innovating spirit of Rome made no progress as long as it was opposed by their united exertions. But after the massacre of the monks at Bangor, when the most distinguished of that body were slain, and the remainder were dispersed through the country; the fences of the Cambrian church being deserted or weakened, it became exposed to a series of evils, under which it suffered for many centuries.*

A. D. 608.

The clergy, while they lived in colleges and were formed into *conventual bodies*, were suported by *tithes* and the voluntary oblations of the people. But when the pious zeal of the bishops, co-operating with the munificence of the nobles, had established these *residentirry cures;* it was then necessary that the same rights and advantages should become a distinct property, and should be applied to the uses of particular parishes, as they had been heretofore claimed for the general service

* Rowland, p. 149, 150.

of the church.* The clergy being thus established in their respective cells, the people, who inhabited the neighbouring division of *bods* and *trevs*, into which the country was at that time broken, associated under the spiritual guidance of their peculiar minister, and assigned for his particular maintenance, and as an endowment in future, the *tithes* of their land, and other ecclesiastical emoluments.† This union of several townships, when associated for the purposes of religion, and of forming a regular establishment for the maintenance of the church, originally constituted a *parish*.‡ But the fervour of pious munificence abating in process of time, the *tithes* alone were found insufficient for the decent maintenance of the clergy, and it became necessary to consolidate several parishes, with their churches, into one *residentiary cure*, under the direction of a single priest or incumbent. By this alteration, the clergy were enabled to obtain, or to purchase *glebes* as the pro-

* Rowland, p. 159. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

perty of the respective incumbent; to attend with greater leisure the spiritual concerns of their parishes, to build houses for their particular habitations, and to reserve the churches for the sole uses of religious worship.*

It is reasonable to suppose form these pious exertions, that the parochial clergy were untainted with the general depravity, which is charged by Gildas upon the *conventual orders*, with a degree of monastic severity. Indeed it was not easy for the clergy of *collegiate bodies*, from their frequent intercourse with mankind, and being dispersed the families of princes, to avoid the contagious influence of luxury. But these dangerous situations, and their consequent profligacy of manners, could have no effect upon the *residentiary priests*, who, residing in solitary abodes, sequestered from the views or pleasures of the world, passed their lives in the austere

* Rowland, p. 159.

piety and mortified habits of *religious recluses*.*

The right of patronage of the bishoprics in Wales, originally belonged to the princes of Wales, upon the feudal idea of the sovereign being the lord paramount of landed property, and afterwards, when the different principalities became united by conquest to the English government, the patronages of the Welsh bishoprics were then annexed to the crown of England.†

The clergy of Wales had hitherto preserved, with great firmness, an independency of the Romish church. About this period, however, they suffered *Elbodius* to be appointed by the Pope, archbishop of North Wales, who soon brought them to act in conformity to the Romish observance of Easter; a point on which the two

A. D. 762.

* Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 160, 161.

† Burn's Ecclesiastical Law, vol. I. p. 177, from Coke's Institutes.

churches had hitherto divided in opinion. The Britons, imitating the *Asiatics*, celebrated their *Easter* from the fourteenth to the twentieth day of the month; but the Romans, agreeably to the *Nicene* Council, kept that festival from the fifteenth to the twenty-first.* Thus, at length, did the Christian world sink under the tyranny of the church of Rome; and, through a long succession of ages, the arts of an interested priesthood, by controling the exertions of human genius, weakened the extension of its powers, debased its spirit, and almost annihilated its dignity and freedom.

* Humfrey Lluyd's Breviary, p. 68.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Omnibus hoc scriptum visuris Rogerus de monte alto Scnescallus Cestriæ Salutem: Sciatis quòd ego me constitui plegium, &c.

TO all and singular to whome this writing shall come, Roger de monte alto Steward of Chester sendeth greeting: Know yee that I haue constituted my selfe pledge for Senena the wife of Gruffydd the sonne of Lhewelyn, sometimes prince of Northwales, and haue vndertaken for hir to our souereigne lord Henrie king of England, that the said Senena shall accomplish and performe all and singular those couenants and articles, agreed vpon betweene our said souereigne lord and the said Senena, for and concerning the deliuerance of the said Gruffyth hir husband and Owen his son out of the prison of Dauid his brother, and the portion of inheritance due vnto the said Gruffyth, which the said Dauid keepeth from him by force. In witnesse whereof to this present writing I haue put my seale, Dated at Salop, the Mundaie before the feast of the Assumption of the blessed virgin Marie, in the 25 year of the reigne of the said King.

No. II.

Reuerendissimis in Christo patribus ac D. D. Roberto Dei gratia Archiepiscopo Cantuar. totius Angliæ Primati, & Archiepiscopo Eborum, ac eorum Suffraganeis, &c.

TO the most reuerend fathers in Christ and Lords, Robert by the grace of God Archbishop of Canterburie, primate of England, and the Archbishop of Yorke, and their Suffraganes, being now togither

at London in councell: their deuout sonne Lhewelyn Prince of Wales and lord of Snoudon, greeting with due obedience, reuerence, and honor in all things. Be it knowen to your reuerend Fatherhoods, that where heretofore contention and discord (whereof warre followed and long continued) arose betwixt the king of noble memorie Henrie king of England of the one partie, and vs of the other partie: the same contentions and strife were at the last appeased by the authoritie of the sea Apostolike, and the meanes of the reuerend father lord Otobonus, Deacon and Cardinall of S. Adrian Legate into England: as it appeareth in the forme of a treatie and peace betwixt the said king, and Edward his first begotten son, lord Edward now king of England, and their successors on the one partie: and vs and our successors on the other partie, by the corporall othes of both parties assured. Which forme of peace was committed to writing by the said Legate, with the seale of the said king, and the seale of the said lord Edward now king, and with our seale also. In the which peace it is conteined amongst our things) which you doo well know as we belieue) that we and our successors should hold of the king and his sneccessors the principalitie of Wales. So that all Welsh Barons should hold their Baronies and lands of vs and our successors in Capite, and should doo homage and fealtie to vs and to our heirs (one Baron excepted) for the which we and our successors should doo homage and fealtie to the lord the king and his successors. It is further conteined in the same peace, that neither the said king nor his successors, should receiue anie of our enemies, nor anie running awaie from vs, or our successors, nor should helpe or maintaine anie such against vs or our successors. The which are all conteined in the forme of peace, the tenor whereof the reuerend Fathers of Strata Florida, and Aberconwey bearers hereof can shew you.

But see reuerend Fathers, the lord Edward now noble king of England, after the said peace taken into his hands certeine Barons lands of Wales, of which they and their ancestors haue beene long possessed, and keepeth a Baronie in his hands which should be ours by the forme of peace: other Barons of our land being from vs fugitives, running to him, he keepeth, helpeth and mainteineth; as Dauid ap Gruffyth, and Gruffyth ap Gwenwynwyn, who purposed our death and destruction. Notwithstanding that since their depar-

ture they haue robbed within our land, committed slaughter, and burning of houses, and doo still dailie commit the like against the peace aforsaid; and although we haue often sent our greefes and complaints by the solemne messengers, to the said noble lord Edward, as well before he was king, as since, yet vnto this daie he neuer did anie redresse therein. Also that which is more perilous, he called vs vnto a place (not to vs safe) amongst our deadlie enemies, our fugitiues and felons and their spies and murderers, to doo him homage and fealtie: to the which place we can no waies come without danger of our bodie: especiallie seeing our enemies abouesaid be in that place at the king's table, and sometime in councell, and openlie brag themselves. And though lawfull and reasonable excuses were alledged by our messengers, before the king and his councell, why the place was not safe nor indifferent, yet he refused to allow or appoint anie other place indifferent for vs to doo our homage and fealtie: which we were and are readie to doo vnto him, in anie safe place by him to be appointed, if he will appoint anie: and to perform the other articles of the peace concluded and sworne. And for that it pleased him not to come to anie place, where we could with safetie do him homage, we were suiters to him, to send anie from him to receiue our oth and homage, vntill it pleased him to appoint a place, where we shall doo our homage to him personallie, the which thing he vtterlie denied to doo.

We therefore beseech your Fatherhoods earnestlie, that it please you to consider what danger should happen to the people both of England and of Wales, by reason of the breach of the couenants of peace aboue said: if now warres and discord should follow, which God forbid: attending and calling to remembrance the prohibition of the holie father the Pope latelie in the councell at Lions, that no warre should be mooued amongst Christians: least thereby the affaires of the holie land should be neglected: that it would please you also to helpe with your counsell with the lord and king, that he would vse vs and order vs according to the peace agreed vpon, the which we will no waie infringe. And if he will not harken to your counsell therein (which God forbid) that you will hold vs excused, for we will no waies as much as in vs lieth procure the trouble or disquietnes of the realme. And if it may please yon to giue credit to our messengers (which we doo send to the king at the daie by him vnto

vs appointed) to alledge our lawful excuses in those things, which they by mouth shall on our part show vnto you: resting to doo your will and pleasure, if it please you to write againe. Dated at Talybont the 6 daie of October, An. 1275.

No. III.

Certeine greefes sent from Lhewelyn, to the Archbishop: translated Word by Word out of the Records of the said Archbishop.

WHERE that it is conteined in the forme of the peace, concluded as followeth.

1. If the said Lhewelyn will claime anie right in anie lands occupied by anie other than by the lord the king, without the said foure Cantreds, the said lord the king shall doo him full iustice, according to the lawes and customes of those quarters or parts, where the said lands doo lie. Which article was not obserued in the lands in Arustly, and betwixt the waters of Dyui and Dulas, for that when the said Lhewelyn claimed the said lands before the lord the king at Ruthland, and the king granted him the cause to be examined according to the lawes and customes of Wales, and the aduocates of the parties were brought in, and the Iudges which vulgarlie they call Ynnayd, before the king, to iudge of the said lands according to the lawes of Wales. And the defendant appeared and answered so, that the same daie the cause ought to haue beene fullie determined according to the appointment of our lord the king. Who at his being at Glocester, had assigned the parties the said daie: and though the same cause was in diuers places often heard and examined before the Iustice, and that the lands were in Northwales, and neuer iudged but by the lawes of Wales, neither was it lawfull for the king but according to the lawes of Wales to proroge the cause; all that notwithstanding he proroged the daie (of his owne motion) contrarie to the said lawes. And at the last the said Lhewelyn was called to diuers places, whither he ought not to haue beene called: neither could he obteine iustice, nor anie iudgement, vnlesse it were according to the lawes of England, contrarie to the said article of the peace. And the same was doone at Montgomery,

when the parties were present in iudgement, and a daie appointed to heare sentence, they proroged the said daie contrarie to the foresaid lawes: and at the last the king himselfe at London denied him iustice, unlesse he would be iudged according to the English lawes in the said matter.

2. All iniuries, trespasses and faults on either part doone, be clearlie remitted vnto this present daie. This article was not kept; for that as soone as the lord Reginald Gray was made Iustice, he mooued diuers and innumerable accusations against the men of Tegengl and Ros, for trespasses doone in the time of king Henrie: when they bare rule in those parties, whereby the said men dare not for feare keepe their own houses.

3. Whereas it was agreed that Rees Vachan ap Rees ap Maelgon shall enioie his possessions, with all the land which he now holdeth, &c. After the peace concluded he was spoiled of his lands of Geneu'rglyn which he then held, with the men and cattell of the same.

4. Also our lord the kind granteth, that all tenants holding lands in the foure Cantreds and in other places which the king holdeth in his owne hands, shall hold and enioie the same, as freelie as they did before the time of the warres, and shall vse the same liberties and customes, which they vsed before. Contrarie to this article, the lord Reginald Gray hath brought manie new customes against the forme of peace aforesaid.

5. All controuersies mooued, or to be mooued betwixt the Prince and anie other, shall be decided after the lawe of the marches (if they haue their beginning in the marches) and after the lawes of Wales, such as in Wales haue their beginning. Contrarie to this article, the king dooth and sendeth Iustices to Anglesey, who presume to iudge there the men and subjects of the Prince: setting fines vpon them, contrarie to the lawes of Wales, seeing neither this nor anie like was euer heard in the times past; imprisoning some, outlawing others, when the Prince is at all times readie to doo iustice to all men that complaine vpon anie of his men.

6 Where it is in the peace, that Gruffyth Vachan should doo homage to the king for the land in Yale, and to the Prince for the land in Ederneon, the kings iustices brought the ladie of Maylor, into all the said lands of Edeyrneon. The knowledge of which

cause onelie pertained to the Prince, and not to the said Iustices: and yet for peace sake, the Prince did tollerate all this, being at all times readie to minister iustice to the said ladie.

7 And though the said Prince submitted himselfe vnto vs and our will, yet we neuertheless will grant, that our will in no case goo furder, than is conteined in those articles. Contrarie to this article, gold was exacted for the Queenes workes at euerie paiment made to the king: which gold was neuer demanded in time of king Henrie, or anie other king of England. Which gold yet for quietnes sake, the Prince paid, though it were not spoken of or mentioned in the peace. And now further it is exacted for the old Queene the kiugs mother that now is (for the peace concluded with king Henrie) 2000 marks and a halfe: and vnlesse it be paid, the king threatneth to occupie the goods and lands of Lhewelyn and his people, which he could find in his realme; and sell men and beasts vntill the said summe were paid.

8 Item when the king inuited the Prince to his feast at Worcester, promising with the uerie fair words, that he would giue his kinsewoman to him to wife, and enrich him with much honor: neuerthelesse when he came thither, the selfe same daie they should be married before Masse, the king required a bill to be sealed by the Prince: conteining amongst other things that he would neuer keep man against the kings will, nor neuer mainteine anie, whereby it might come to passe, that all the Princes force should be called from him. The which letter sealed, he deliuered the king by iust feare, which might mooue anie constant man; yet was not this conteined in the peace, whereas the conclusion of the peace was that the king should require nothing that was not conteined in the same.

9 Item where in the said peace all customes be confirmed to the said Prince, as his ancestors of long and dailie obserued custome haue receiued to their owne vse, all wrecks happening vpon his owne land: the Iustice of Chester tooke a distresse of the Prince for goods of shipwrekes receiued by him before the warres, contrarie to the forme of the said peace. By the which all trespasses of either side were remitted; and contrarie to the customes before said: and if in case it were forfeited, yet he took such a distresse, fifteene pounds, of honie and manie horses, and imprisoned his

men. And this he tooke of the Princes owne proper goods, and further tooke booties of Bagiers which came to Lyrpoole with merchandize, and neuer redeliuered the same, untill he had taken so much monie for the same, as it pleased him.

10 Item when certeine men of Geneurglyn had taken certeine goods of some of their neighbours of Geneurglyn, when they were in the dominion of the Prince in Meyreon, the kings men of Lhanbadarn did take awaie the said goods out of the said dominion of the Prince: and when the Prince his men came thither, and asked the cause why they tooke the said preie: the kings men killed one of them, and wounded other, and the rest they did imprison, neither could the Prince get anie iustice for the said goods to this daie.

11 And where it is conteined in the peace, that all things committed in the Marches, should be redressed in the Marches; yet the kings men would no where heare the princes men, but put them in the castell of Lhanbadarn: which is against the peace aforesaid. In these articles and diuers others, the king standeth sworne to the prince, and to his people. And although the prince as well by himselfe as by his people, haue often requested the king to cause the said peace to be kept, yet was it in no point kept, but dailie the kings Iustices doo more and more heape iniuries and griefs vpon the people of those parts. So that it can not be blamed, if the Prince did assent to them that first began the wars, seeing the oth which the lord Robert Typtost sware for the king, was kept in no point: and chieflie seeing the prince was forewarned, that he should be taken so soone as the king came to Ruthlan, as he had beene in deede if the king had come thither after Christmasse, as he purposed.

No. IV. & VII.

These greefes folowing were done by the King and his Officers, to the Lord Dauid ap Gruffyth.

WHEN the said Dauid came to the lord Edward then earle of Chester, and did him homage, the said lord Edward did giue by his letters patents to the said Dauid, two Cantreds, Dyffrynclwyd, and

Ceinmeyrdh, with all the appurtenances: afterward when he was made king he confirmed the said gift to the said Dauid, and gaue him possession of them. Then afterward Guenlhian Lacy died, who held some townes in the said Cantreds for the terme of life: which after hir decease appertained to Dauid, by force of the foresaid grant which townes yet the king tooke from him, contrarie to his letters patents.

2 Item, when the said Dauid did hold of the lord the king the villages of Hope and Eston in Wales, of the which he ought to answere no man, but according to the lawes of Wales, yet the Iustice of Chester caused the said Dauid to be called to Chester, at the sute of one William Venable an English man: to answere for the title of the said villages. And although the said Dauid did often and instantlie desire him the said Iustice not to proceed against him iniuriouslie in the countie of Chester, where he was not bound to answere by the forme of the peace:' yet he plainlie denied him to be iudged either in Wales or after the lawes of Wales.

3 Item, the said Iustice of Chester to the iniurie of the said Dauid, did cut downe his wood of Llyweny, and his woods at Hope, as well by the dwellers of Ruthlan, as others: and yet the said Iustice had no iurisdiction in those parts. And not being contented to get timber there, for building, as well for Ruthlan as other places in the countrie, but also destroied the said woods, sold it, and carried it into Ireland.

4 Item, where the said Dauid tooke certeine outlawes and rouers in the woods, and caused them to be hanged: yet the said Iustice accused Dauid to the king, for succoring and mainteining the theeues aforesaid: which was not like to be true seeing he caused them to be hanged.

5 Item, it is prouided in the peace, that all Welshmen in their causes should be iudged after the lawes of Wales. This was in no point obserued with the said Dauid and his people. Of these foresaid greefs the said Dauid required often amends, either according to the lawes and customes of Wales, or of speciall fauour: but he could neuer obteine anie of them both at his hands. Further, the said Dauid was warned in the kings court, that as soone as Reginald Gray should come from the court, the said Dauid should be taken and spoiled of his castell of Hope, his woods should be cut downe,

and his children taken for pledges: who seeing he had taken much paines and perill for the king in all his warres as well as himselfe as his people, both in England and in Wales, and had lost therebie the most part of the nobilitie of his countrie, and yet neuerthelesse could obteine neither iustice, amends, nor fauour at his hands, hauing such great wrongs offered vnto him, and fearing his owne life and his childrens, or else perpetuall prison, being enforced, as it were against his will, began to defend himselfe and his people.

No. V.

Articles sent from the archbishop of Canterburie, to be intimated to Lhewelyn, Prince of Wales, and the people of the same Countrie.

BECAUSE we came to those parts for the spirituall and temporall [illegible]alth of them whom we haue euer loued well, as diuers of them haue knowne.

2 That we come contrarie to the will of our Lord the king, whom our said comming (as it is said) dooth much offend.

3 That we desire and beseech them, for the bloud of our lord Iesus Christ, that they would come to an vnitie with the English people, and to the peace of our lord the king, which we intend to procure them so well as we can.

4 We will them to understand, that we cannot long tarrie in these quarters.

5 We would they considered, that after our parting out of the countrie, they shall not perhaps find anie that will so tender the prefering of their cause, as we would doo, if it pleased God (with our mortall life) we might procure them an honest, stable and firme peace.

6 That if they doo contemne our petition and labour, we intend foorthwith to signifie their stubbornes to the high bishop, and the court of Rome: for the enormitie that manie waies hapneth by occasion of this discord this daie.

7 Let them know, that vlesse they doo quietlie agree to a peace, that warre shall be aggrauated against them, which they shall not be able to sustaine, for the kings power increaseth dailie.

The greater cause the more love.

8 Let them vnderstand that the realme of England is vnder the speciall protection of the sea of Rome: that the sea of Rome loueth it better than anie other kingdome.

9 That the said sea of Rome will not in anie wise see the state of the realme of England quaile, being vnder speciall protection.

10 That we much lament to heare that the Welshmen be more cruell than Saracens: for Saracens, when they take christians they keepe them to be redeemed for monie. But (they saie) that Welshmen by the by doo kill all that they take, and are onelie delighted with blood, and sometime cause to be killed them whose ransome they haue receiued.

11 That whereas they were euer woont to be esteemed, and reuerence God and Ecclesiasticall persons, they seeme much to reuolt from that deuotion: moouing sedition and warre, and committing slaughter, and burning in the holie time. Which is great iniurie to God, wherein no man can excuse them.

12 We desire, that as true christians they would repent, for they cannot long continue their begun discord, if they had sworne it.

13 We will that they signifie vnto vs, how they will or can amend the trouble of the kings peace, and the hurt of the common wealth.

14 That they signifie vnto vs how peace and concord may be established: for in vaine were it to forme peace, to be dailie violated.

15 If they saie that their lawes or couenants be not obserued, that they doo signifie vnto vs which those be.

16 That granting it that they were iniured, as they saie, (which we no waies doo know) they which were Iudges in the cause might so haue signified to the king's majestie.

17 That vnlesse they will now come to peace, they shall be resisted by decree and censure of the church, besides warre of the people.

No. VI.

To the most reuerend Father in Christ, the Lord Iohn by Gods grace Archbishop Canterburie, Primate of all England, his Humble and deuout Sonne Lhewelyn Prince of Wales and Lord of Snowdon sendeth Greeting.

WITH all reuerend submission and honor we yeeld our most humble and hartie thanks vnto your fatherhood, for the great and greeuous paines which at this present for the loue of vs and our nation you haue sustained: and so much the more we are beholden vnto you, for that besides the kings pleasure you would venture to come vnto vs. In that you request vs to come to the kings peace, we would haue your holinesse to know that we are most readie and willing to the same, so that our lord the king will duelie and trulie obserue and keepe the peace towards vs and ours. Moreouer, although we would be glad of our continuance in Wales, yet we hope there shall not be anie delaie in vs but that peace (which of all things we most desire and wish for) may be forthwith established, and rather by your trauell and procurement than by any other mans: so that it shall not be needefull to complaine vnto the Pope of our wilfulnes: neither do we despise your fatherhoods requests and painefull trauell, but with all hartie reuerence according to our dutie do accept the same. Neither yet shall it be needfull for the lord the king to use anie force against vs, seeing we are redie to obeie him in all things, our rights and lawes (as aforesaid) reserued. And although the kingdome of England be vnder the speciall protection of the sea of Rome, and with speciall loue regarded of the same: yet, when the lord the Pope and the court of Rome shall vnderstand of the great damages which are done ynto vs by the Englishmen, to wit, the articles of the peace concluded and sworne vnto, violated and broken, the robbing and burning of churches, the murthering of ecclessiasticall persons, as well religious as secular; the slaughter of women great with child, and children sucking their mothers brests: the destroieing of hospitals, and houses of religion, killing the men and women professed in the holie places, and euen before the alters: we hope that your fatherhood, and the said court of Rome

will rather with pittie lament our case, than with rigour of punishment augment our sorrow. Neither shall the kingdome of England be in anie wise disquieted or molested by our meanes (as is affirmed) so that we may haue the peace dulie kept and obserued towards vs and our people. Who they be, which are delighted with bloodshed and warre, is manifestlie apparant by their deedes and behauiour; for we would liue quetlie vpon our owne if we might be suffered, but the Englishmen comming to our countrie did put all to the sword neither sparing sex, age or sicknesse, nor anie thing regarding churches or sacred places, the likewhereof the Welshmen neuer committed. That one hauing paid his ransome was afterward slaine, wee are right sorie to heare of it, neither do we maintaine the offender, who escaping our hands keepeth himselfe as an outlaw in the woods and vnknown places. That some began the warre in a time not meete and conuenient, that vnderstood not we of vntill now: and yet they which did the same do affirme, that in case they had not done as they did at that time, they had beene slaine or taken themselues, being not in safetie in their owne houses, and forced continuallie for safeguard of their liues to keepe themselues in armour: and therefore to deliuer themselues from that feare, they tooke that enterprise in hand. Concerning those things which we commit against God: with the assistance of his grace, we will (as it becommeth Chrirtians) repent and turne vnto him. Neither shall the warre on our part be continued, so that we be saued harmlesse and may liue as we ought: but before we be disinherited or slaine we must defend our selues as well as we may. Of all iniuries and wrongs done by vs, we are most willing and readie (vpon due examination and triall of all tresspasies and wrongs committed on both sides) to make amends to the vttermost of our power: so that the like on the kings side be perfomed in like manner towards vs and our people: and to conclude and stablished a peace we are most readie: but what peace can be established when as the kings charter so solemnlie confirmed, is not kept and performed? Our people are dailie oppressed with new exactions: we send vnto you also a note in writing of the wrongs and iniuries which are done vnto vs contrarie to the forme of the peace before made. We have put our selues in armour, being driuen therevnto by necessitie: for we and our people were so op-

opressed, troden vnder foote, spoiled, and brought to slauerie by the kings officers, contrarie to the forme of the peace concluded against iustice, none otherwise than if we were Saracens or Iewes: whereof we haue often times complained vnto the king and neuer could get anie redresse: but alwaies those officers were afterwards more fierce and cruell against vs. And when those officers through their rauaine and extortion were enriched, other more hungrie than they were sent a fresh to flea those whom the other had shorne before: so that the people wished rather to die than liue in such oppression. And now it shall not be needefull to leuie anie armie to war vpon vs, or to moue the prelats of the church against vs, so that the peace may be obserued duelie and trulie, as before is expressed. Neither ought your holie fatherhood to giue credit to all that our aduersaries do allege against vs: for euen as in their deeds they haue and do oppresse vs, so in their words they will not sticke to slander vs, laieing to our charge what liketh them best. Therefore, for as much as they are alwaies present with you, and we absent from you, they oppressing, and we oppressed, we are to desire you euen for his sake from whom nothing is hid, not to credit mens words but to examine their deeds. Thus we bid your holines farewell. Dated at Garth Celyn, in the feast of S. Martine.

No. VIII.

Greefes and Iniuries offered by the King and his Officers to the Men of Ros.

THIS is the forme of peace, which the king of England did promise the men of Ros before they did him homage, which he promised them to obserue inuiolablie. That is to saie, the king should grant to euerie of them their right and iurisdiction, as they had in time of king Henrie, according as the said men doo report that they had in the time of king Henrie.

2 Item, the lord the king did promise the said men, that they should haue iustice in their sutes: after granting of the which articles, the said men did homage to the king. And then the king

promised them with his owne mouth faithfullie to obserue the said articles. This notwith standing a certeine noble man passing by the kings hie waie, with his wife in the kings peace, met certeine English laborers and masons going to Ruthland where they did then worke: who attempted by force to take awaie his wife from him, and while he defended hir as well as he could, one of them killed the wife, and he who killed hir with his fellowes were taken: and when the kinred of hir which was slaine required lawe at the Iustice of Chesters hands (for their kinsewoman) they were put in prison, and the murtherers were deliuered.

3 Item, a certeine man killed a Gentleman who had killed the sonne of Grono ap Heilyn and was taken: but when certaine of the kinred required iustice before the Justice of Chester, certeine of them were imprisoned, the offender set at libertie, and iustice denied to the kinred.

4 Item, certeine Gentleman claimed some lands, and offered the king a great peece of monie, to haue iustice by the verdict of good and lawfull men of the countrie (then the lands being adiudged to the claimers) Reginald Gray tooke the same lands, corne, goods, and all vpon the ground, so that they lost their lands, monie, corne and cattell.

5 Item, it is our right that no stranger should cut our woods withour our leaue: yet this notwithstanding there was a proclamation at Ruthlan, that it should be lawfull for all other men to cut downe our woods, but it was forbidden.

6 Item, where diuerse honest men had lands of the gift of the said Dauid, the Justice taketh the said mens lands awaie.

7 Item, when anie commeth to Ruthlan with merchandize, if he refuse whatsoeuer anie English man offereth, he is forthwith sent to the castell to prison, and the buier hath the thing, and the king hath the price: then the soldiours of the castell first spoile and beate the partie, and then cause him to pay the porter, and let him go.

8 Item, if anie Welshman buie anie thing in Ruthlan, and anie English man doo meet him, he will take it from him, and giue him lesse than he paid for it.

9 Item, the king contrarie to his promise made to the men of Ros, hath giuen the territorie of Maynan, Penmayn, and Lhysuayn.

10 Item, Certeine Gentlemen of the Cantred of Ros bought certeine offices, and paid their monie for the same: yet the Iustice of Chester tooke the said offices from them withont cause.

11 Item, Grono ap Heilyn tooke to farme of Godfrey Marliney, the territorie of Maynan and Lhysuayn, for the terme of foure yeares: yet Robert de Cruquer with horses and armes and foure and twentie horsemen, came to vexe the said Grono, so that he had no safe going, neither to Ruthland nor to Chester, without a great garison of his kindred and freends. See this Article again page 424.

12 Item, certeine Gentlemen were arrested for tresspasses done before the warres and imprisoned, and couid not be deliuered vntill they had paied xvi. markes, which was contrarie to the peace concluded.

13 Item, our causes ought to be decided after the customes of our lawes; but our men be compelled to sweare against their consciences; else they be not suffered to sweare: furthermore we spent three hundred markes in going to the king for iustice in the foresaid articles. And when we beleeved to recouer full iustice, the king sent to our parties the lord Reginald Gray, to whom the king hath set all the lands to farme, to handle the men of the said Cantreds as it pleaseth him; who compelled vs to * sweare in his name, whereas we should sweare in the kings name. And where the kings crosse ought to be erected, he caused his crosse to be erected, in token that he is the verie true lord: and the said lord Reginald at his first comming to those parts of Wales, sold to certeine seruants of the king, offices for lx. markes; which the said seruants bought before of the king for xxiiij. markes: which offices ought not to be sold at the choise of the lord.

14 Item, the king gaue Meredyth ap Madoc a captaineship for his seruice, Reginald Gray tooke it from him: neither could he get anie remedie at the kings hands for the same.

15 Item, one of the councell of the said Reginald, Cynwric Vadhan told vs by mouth, that as soone as the said Reginald Gray returned to Wales he would take xxiiij. men of everie Cantred, and either behead them or imprison them perpetuallie.

* To sweare by his hand, whereas we should sweare by the hand of the king.

16 Item, whereas we paid our taxes and rents in old monie half a yeare before the comming of new monie, they inforced vs to paie new monie for the old.

Theese greefes and the like, the said Reginald offered vs, and threatned that if we would send anie to the king to complaine he would behead them: and when we sent anie to the king, he could neuer speake with the king, but spent vs much monie in vaine. For which greefes we beleeue our selues free before God, from the oth which we haue made to the king.

No. IX.

These Greefes folowing, the King and his Iustices offered to Rees Vachan of Stratywy.

AFTER that the said Rees gaue the king his castell of Dynevowr, sithence the last peace, the said Rees then being in the tent of the lord Payne de Gadersey, at the same time therewere slaine sixe Gentlemen of the said Reeses men, for whom they neuer had amends, which was to him great greefe and losse.

2 Item, Iohn Gifford claimed the said Reeses inheritance at Hirnryn, and the said Rees requested the lawe of his countrie of the king, or the lawe of the countie of Caermardhen, in the which countie the ancestors of the said Rees were woont to haue lawe: when they were of the peace of the Englishmen, and vnder their regiment; but the said Rees could haue no lawe, but lost all his lands. They would haue had him to answer in the countie of Hereford, where none of his ancestors euer answered. Further in the lands of the said Rees were such enormities committed, which doo much apperteine to the state ecclesiasticall: that is to saie in the church, of S. Dauid, which they call Lhangadoc, they made stabes, and plaid the harlots, and tooke awaie all the goods of the said church, and burning all the houses, wounded the preest of the said church before the high altar, and left him there as dead.

3 Item, in the same countrie they spoiled and burnt the churches of Dyngad, Lhantredaff, and other churches in other parts: they spoiled their chalices, books, and all other ornaments and goods.

No. X.

These be the Greefes which the King and his Iustice gave to Lhewelyn ap Rees and Howel ap Rees.

AFTER that a forme of peace was concluded betwixt Henrie then king of England, and the prince of Wales, the said king granted and confirmed by his charter to the said prince the homage of the said noble men, so long as they stood freends with the prince, according to the said gift and confirmation: but Edward now king disherited the said Gentlemen of their lands, so that they could not haue their owne lands, neither by law nor by fauour.

No. XI.

These be the Greefes done by the Englishmen, to the Sonnes of Meredyth ap Owen.

AFTER that the king had granted the Gentlemen their owne inheritance of Geneurglyn and Creuthyn, he contrarie to the peace disherited the said Gentlemen: denieing them all lawes and customes of Wales, and the countie of Caermardhyn.

2 The said king in his countie of Caerdigan by his said Iustices compelled the said Gentlemen to give iudgment vpon themselues: where their predecessors neuer suffered the like of Englishmen.

3 The said Iustices of the king haue taken awaie the courtes of the noblemen in Wales, and compelled the people to satisfie before them for tresspasses: when as they ought to haue satisfied by the said nobles.

4 When a wrecke hapneth vpon anie of the grounds of the noble men, whose ancestors had wrecke, they should haue the same: yet the king forbideth them, and the said king by color of that shipwrecke contrarie to their custome and lawe did condemne them in eight markes, and tooke awaie all the goods of the shipwrecke.

5 That none of our men of the countie of Caerdigan dare come amongst the Englishmen, for feare of imprisonment: and if it had not beene for feare of hurt, the nobles would neuer haue stirred.

No. XII.

The complaints of the noble Men of Stratalyn, of Wrongs and Greefes doone to them, by Rager Clifford, and Roger Scrochill Deputie to the said Roger Clifford: contrarie to the Priuilage, Iustice and Custome of the said noble Men, as they saie and proue.

WHEN the said Roger compelled the said men of Stratylyn to giue them (to haue their customes and privileges) twentie markes starling, and after the paiement of the monie, they brake by and by after this sort, to put vpon twelue men according to the lawes of England, which was neuer the manner nor custome of the said countrie.

2 Item, Madoc ap Blethyn was condemned in foure markes vniustlie, contrarie to the lawes and vse of the countrie.

3 Item, Grono Goch was likewise condemned in fiue markes and twelue beasts, contrarie to the custome of the countrie.

4 Item, the said Roger tooke the lands of the men of the countrie as forfeit: and for one foote of a stag found in a dogs mouth, three men were spoiled of all that they had.

5 Item, Ithel ap Gwysty was condemned in a great sum of monie, for the fact of his father done fortie yeares before.

6 Item, the said Roger laid vpon vs the finding of all the English soldiours, whereof before therewas but one halfe.

7 Item, we were giuen to maister Mauric de Cruny, and were sold to Roger Clifford: which was neuer seene in our parents time.

8 Item, the widow of Robert of the Mowld asked of the king the third part of the land in the Mowld in ward: whereas it was iudged before the king, that the said lands were neuer giuen in ward.

No. XIII.

These be the Articles of Greefes doone to the Men of Penllyn, by the Constable of Henrie Chambers of the white Abbie, and his Men.

CYNWRIC ap Madoc was spoiled by them in time of peace, of eight pound, foure oxen, corne the worke of one plough for two yeares, and to the value of three pound, of three of his men, and they had the worth of xvi. pound for the said eight pound, and did beate him besides: which was more wrong, for then he was the princes constable at Penlhyn. And all the cause that they pretended to make this spoile, was onelie that they said they had found foure and twentie sheafes of tyth in the house of a seruant of the said Cynwric.

2 Item, Adam Criwr was condemned in eight shillings eight pence, and a mare, price twentie shillings, and was taken and beaten, for that he had taken the stealer of that mare, and brought him bound, with him, the which theefe was forthwith deliuered.

3 Item, Iorwerth ap Gurgeneu was condemned in foure pound, for that he had escaped out of their prison in time of the warres, and was found in the said towne in the time of peace, and this is directlie against the peace concluded betwixt the king and the Prince.

4 Item, Caduan Dhu seruant to the constable of Penlhyn was condemned, bicause he would not receiue the old monie for new.

5 Item, Gruffyth ap Grono the Princes man was spoiled of an an oxe, price eleuen shillings eight pence, and after that the constable had plowed with the said oxe seuen monthes, he paid to the said Gruffyth for the said oxe, three shillings foure pence.

6 Item two seruants of one named Y Bongam were spoiled of two pounds, for that they tooke a theefe that robbed them by night, and yet the theefe was deliuered.

7 Item, Eneon ap Ithel was taken, beaten, and spoiled of two oxen, price foure and twentie shillings and two pence, for this cause onelie, that the said oxen went from one streete to an other in the towne.

8 Item, Guyan Maystran was spoiled of his monie, becausse a certeine merchant of Ardudwy owed them certeine things, and yet the said merchant was not of their bailiwicke.

No. XIV.

The Greeses of Grono ap Heilyn.

A TENANT of Grono ap Heilyn was called to the kings court without anie cause: then Grono came at the daie appointed to defend his tenant, and demanded iustice for him, or the law which the men of his countrie did vse: all this being denied, the said tenant was condemned in seuen and twentie pound. i. d. ob. Then the said Grono weut to London for iustice, which was promised him, but he could neuer haue anie, where he spent in his iournie fifteen markes.

2 A certeine Gentleman was slaine, who had fostered the sonne of Grono ap Heilyn, and he that killed him was taken and brought to Ruthlan castell: then the said Grono and the kindred of him that was slaine asked iustice, but some of them were imprisoned, and the killer discharged. Then Grono went againe to London for iustice, which the king did promise him, but he neuer had anie, but spent twentie markes.

3 The third time Grono was faine to go to London for iustice in the premisses: where he spent xviiij. markes, vj. s. viij. d. And then likewise the king promised him that he would haue iustice: but when he certeinlie beleeued to haue iustice, then Reginald Gray came to the countrie aod said openlie, that he had all doings in that countrie by the kings charters: and tooke awaie all Bailiwicks, which the kings had giuen the said Grono and sold them at his pleasure: then the said Grono asked iustice of the said Reginald, but he could not be be heard.

4 The said Grono tooke to farme for foure yeares of Godfrey Marliney, Maynan and Lhysfayn, then Robert Cruquer came with his horses and armes to get the said lands by force, and for that Grono would not suffer him to haue the said lands before his yeares

came out, he was called to the law, and then the Reginald Gray came with xxiiij. horssemen, to take the said Grono. And for that they could not that daie haue their purpose, they called Grono the next daie to Ruthlan: and then Grono had counsell not to go to Ruthlan. Then they called him againe to answere at Caerwys, but the said Grono durst not go thither, but by the conduct of the bishop of S. Asaph, for that Reginald Gray was there and his men in harnesse.

5 For these greefes for the which he could get no iustice, but labour and expenses, of liiij. markes and more, and for that he durst not in his owne person go to the court, he sent letters, one to the king, an other to his brother Lhewelyn, to signifie to the king that that he should loose all the fauour of the countrie, if he kept no promise with them, and so it came to passe, because the men of Ros and Englefild could get no iustice, the king neglecting the correction of these things, lost the whole countrie.

No. XV.

Humblie sheweth to your Holines, Lord Archbishop of Canterburie, Primate of all England, the noble Men of Tegengl: that when the said noble Men did their homage to the Lord Edward, King of England, the said King promised them to defend them and their Goods; and that they should vse all Kind of Right, Priuilege, and Iurisdiction, which they did vse in Time of King Henrie, of the Graunt of the said King, whereof they were after spoiled.

FIRST they were spoiled of their right and priuileges and customes of the countrie: and were compelled to be iudged by the lawes of England, whereas the tenor of that their priuilege was to be iudged according to the lawes of Wales at Tref Edwyn, at Ruthlan, and at Caerwys, and the best men of the countrie were taken, bicause they desired to be iudged at Tref Edwyn, according to the tenor of their priuileges, by the lawes of Wales.

2 Whatsoeuer one Iustice dooth, his successor dooth reuerse the same: for in Dauids cause Reginald Gray reuoked that, which his predecessor confirmed and allowed.

3 If he doo take anie Gentleman of the countrie, he will not let him go vpon suertie, which he ought to doo.

4 If anie Gentleman be brought to the castell of the Flynt, vpon small accusation, and his cattell withall; they can neither be deliuered, nor haue delaie, vntill they giue the constable an oxe, and vntill they paie three pound fees to Cynwric for the hauing of the delaie.

5 Reginald Gray gaue the lands of the men of Merton to the Abbot and couent of Basingwerke, against the lawes of Wales and the custome of the countrie, and contrarie to the forme of the peace betwixt prince Lhewelyn and the king; that is to saie, xvi. Caratatas terræ.

6 The noble and the best of countrie be iniured, for that the king builded the castell of Flynt vpon their ground: and the king commanded the Iustices to giue the men as much and as good ground or the price. But they are spoiled of their lands, and haue neither other lands nor monie.

7 Reginald Gray will not suffer men to cut their owne wood, vntill he haue both monie and reward, and vntill they paie for it also; but permitteth others to cut it downe freelie, which they ought not to doo by the lawes and customes of Wales.

8 Where the men of Crycnynan couenant with the king to giue the king halfe a meadow, of condition the king should not suffer the woods to be cut downe, Howel ap Gruffyth being present: yet Reginald Gray hath broken the same, permitting euerie man to cut their woods, and spoile them also of their meadowe.

9 The sonne of Cynwric ap Grono was taken at Ruthlan, and put in prison without anie cause at all: neither would the kings officers deliuer him, vnlesse he would redeeme the gage of a certeine woman, for the which he was constrained to paie much more than the pawne laie for.

10 When the bailiffe of Ruthlan was at the feast, Hicken le Maile wounded a Gentleman cruellie in the presence of the said bailiffe: by the occasion of which wound, Hicken was condemned in eight pound, and when he who was hurt would haue demanded the said eight pound, he was put in prison with Hicken.

11 The messengers of Reginald Gray attempted an absurditie not heard of requiring the people of the countrie to plow his ground

and sowe the same: and messengers were Cynwric Says and Hicken Lemayl, and the said Cynwric sware openlie before the whole companie, that vnlesse all men should plow Reginald Grayes ground they should shortlie repent it: then the people feared much, as in that case anie constant man would feare.

12 The heirs of Tegengl bought their offices for xxx markes of the king. But afterward Reginald Gray spoiled them of their offices and monie, against the lawes and customes of England.

13 Seuen Gentlemen were wrongfullie killed by the Englishmen, but as yet the parents of the Gentlemen can haue no amends: and and though the offenders were taken, yet the said constable let them go without punishment.

14 The constable of Ruthlan kept two of the kings soldiours in prison, for that they tooke an Englishman, who had wounded a man.

All these things conteined in these articles are contrarie to the priuilege, libertie and right of the said men, and contrarie to the lawes and customes of Wales: neither dare the inhabitants send their complaints to the king for feare of Reginald Gray (which feare anie constant man might haue) because the said Reginald Gray said openelie, that if he could come by anie such their messengers, he would cut off their heads, as it is certeinelie told vs by one of his counsell further neither toong can expresse, nor pen can write, how euell the men of Tegengl haue beene ordered.

Humblie complaineth vnto your lordship, my lord Archbishop of Canterburie Primate of all England, Lhewelyn ap Gruffyth ap Madoc, of the constable of Oswaldes Crosse, the king and of the men of that towne, who haue spoiled the said Lhewelyn of the third part of a towne, called Lhedrot, and his fathers house house without anie law, or right, or custome of the countrie. Further the said Constable and his complices haue against the lawes and custome of the countrie spoiled the said Lhewelyn of the common and pasturage, which he and his predecessors haue had and vsed time out of mind: and further condemned the said Lhewelyn for the said pasture in lxx. markes. And further the king of England granted certeine letters to a bastard called Gruffyth Vachan of Cynlhaeth, to law with the said Lhewelyn for his whole lordship and possessions; by the occasion of which letters, the said Lhewelyn hath spent two hundreth pound of good monie.

Lhewelyn ap Gruffyth ap Madoc

Also the said Constable compelled the said Lhewelyn to send two of his Gentlemen to him, whom when they came to him he caused to be hanged, which Gentlemen ought not by right to haue been hanged, whose parents had rather haue giuen him three hundredth pounds.

Afterward the said Constable imprisoned threescore of the men of the said Lhewelyn (no cause alledged) but that a certeine Page spake a word: who could not be deliuered of prison, vntil euerie of them paid ten shillings.

When the men of the said Lhewelyn came to the towne to sell their oxen, the said Constable would cause the beasts to be driuen to the castell: neither would he restore the beastes nor monie for them. Further, the said Constable and his men tooke awaie the cattell of the said Lhewelyn from his owne ground, and did their will with them.

Further the kings Iustices compelled the said Llewelyn, contrarie to the law and custome of Wales, to deliuer to the sonnes of Eneon ap Gruffyth, a certeine towne which both he and his ancesstors euer had held. The said Constable tooke the horsse of Lhewelyns Bailiff: when the said Bailiff owed him nothing, who could neuer get his horsse againe, nor anie satisfaction for it.

Furthermore when the said Lhewelyn should haue gone to a towne called Caerlhêon to appeare there as he was appointed, the sonnes of Gruffyth ap Gwenwynwyn, and the soldiours of Roger Strainge, by the counsell of the said Roger, tooke the said Lhewelyn and his men, and imprisoned them, to their great damage; which the said Lhewelyn would not for 300. pound starling, who could by no meanes be deliuered, untill they had found sufficient suerties.

The Archbishop receiuing these and other articles, came to the king, and requested him to consider these wrongs, and to cause amends to be made, or at the least excuse the Welshmen hauing so iust cause of greefe. Who answered that the Welshmen were to be excused: yet he said he was euer readie to doo iustice to all them that complained. Wherevpon the Archbishop besought the king againe, that the Welshmen might haue free accesse to his Grace to declare their greefes, and to seeke remedie: the king answered they should freelie come and depart, if it should seeme that by iustice they deserued to depart.

The Archbishop hearing this, went and came to the Prince of Wales in Snowdon, that he might mooue him and his brother Dauid, and the other companie to submit themselues: whereby he might incline the king to admit them. Which after much talke and conference with the Archbishop, the Prince answered that he was readie to submit himselfe to the king, reseruing two things: that is to say, his conscience, which he ought to haue for the rule and safegard of his people: and also the decencie of his state and calling. Which answere the Archbishop brought, and reported to the king. At the which the king said, that he would not anie other treatie of peace, than that the Prince and his people should simplie submit themselues. But the Archbishop (knowing well that the Welshmen would not submit themselues but in the forme aforsaid, or in other forme to them tollerable and of them liked) requested the king, that he might haue conference in this matter with all the noble Englishmen then present: who after such conference agreed all to these articles following. The which articles the Archbishop did send in writing to the Prince, by John Wallensis.

conscientia de salute populi.
2 Decorum.

No. XVI.

These are to be said to the Prince before his Councell:

FIRST, that of the foure Cantreds and the lands by the king giuen to his nobles, and the Isle of Anglesey, he will haue no treatie of.

2 Item, of the tenants of the foure Cantreds if they will submit themselues, he purposeth to doo as becommeth a kings majestie: and we verelie beleeue he will deale with them mercifullie, and to that end we will labour and trust to obtaine.

3 As touching the lord Lhewelyn we can haue none other answer, but that he shall submit himselfe simplie to the king: and we beleeue certeinlie he will deale mercifullie with him, and to that end we trauell all we can, and verilie beleeue to be heard.

No. XVII.

These following are to be said to the Prince in Secret.

FIRST, that the nobilitie of England haue conceiued this forme of fauorable peace, that the lord Lhewelyn should submit himselfe to the king: and the king should honarablie prouide for him a thousand pound starling, and some honorablie countie in England. So that the said Lhewelyn would put the king in quiet possession of Snowdon: and the king will prouide honorablie for the daughter of Lhewelyn, according to the state and condecencie of his owne blood, and to these they hope to persuade the king.

Item, if it happen that Lhewelyn marrie a wife, and to haue by hir anie heire male, they trust to intreate the king, that the same heire male and his heires for euer shall haue the same thousand pound and countie.

3 Item, to the people subiect to the said Lhewelyn the king will prouide, as becommeth their estates and condition, and to that the king is well inclined.

No. XVIII.

These are to be said to Dauid Brother to Lhewelyn in Secret.

FIRST, that if for the honor of God (Iuxta debitum crucis assumptæ) he will go to the holie land, he shall be prouided for according to his degree, so that he doo not returne, vnlesse he be called by the king: and we trust to entreat the king, prouided for his child.

2 And these things we tell our selues to the Welshmen, that a great deale greater perill dooth hang ouer them, than we told them by mouth when we were with them: these things which we write seeme greeuous, but it is a great deale more greeuous to be oppressed with armes, and finallie to be rooted out, bicause euerie daie more and more their danger dooth increase.

3 Item, it is more hard to be alwaies in warre, in anguish of mind and danger of bodie, alwaies sought and besieged, and so to die in deadlie sinne, and continuall rancor and malice.

4 Item, we feare (whereof we be sorrie) vnlesse you doo agree to peace, we most certeinlie will aggrauate the sentence Ecclesiasticall against you for your faults: of the which you can not excuse yourseues, whereas yee shall find both grace and mercie, if you will come to peace.

And send vs your answer of these in writing.

No. XIX.

To the most reuerend Father in Christ, the Lord Iohn by Gods Grace Archbishop of Canturburie, and Primate of all England, his obedient Sonne Lhewelyn Prince of Wales and Lord of Snowdon sendeth greeting.

MOST hartilie with all reuerence and honor we are content and readie holie father as you haue counselled vs, to submit our selues vnto the kings Grace, so it be in that forme that shall be safe and honest for vs: but because that forme of submission conteined in the articles which were sent vnto vs, is neither safe, nor honest, as we and our councell do thinke (at the which articles all men do maruell :) tending rather to the destruction of vs and our people, than anie securitie and honest dealing, we may in no wise yeeld our assent vnto it, and if we shall so doo, our nobles and people would not agree to the same, knowing the mischeefe and inconuenience that is like to ensue thereof. Neverthelesse, we beseech your holie fatherhood, that for the reformation of a decent, honest and firme peace (for the which you haue taken so great pains) you do circumspectlie prouide, hauing respect vnto the articles which we send vnto you in writing. It is more honorable for the king, and more agreeable to reason that we should hold our lands in the countrie where wee dwell, than that wee should be disinherited, and our lands giuen to other men. Dated at Garth Celyn.

No. XX.

The answers of the Welshmen.

FIRST, though the lord the king will haue no treatie of the foure Cantreds of the lands that he gaue his nobles, nor the Isle of Anglesey; yet the Princes councell will no peace to be made, vnlesse treatie be had of them. For that the foure Cantreds be of the more tenure of the Prince, where alwaies the Princes of Wales had more right, since the time of Camber the sonne of Brutus: so that they be of the principalitie of Wales. The confirmation of the which the Prince obtained by Otobonus the Popes legate in England, by the consent of the king and his father: as it doth appeare by the letters patents. And more iust and equall it is, that our heires doo hold the said Cantreds of the king for monie and vsed seruice, than the same be giuen to strangers, which abuse the people by force and power.

2 All the tenants of all the Cantreds of Wales altogither doo saie, that they dare not submit themselues to the king, to doo his pleasure. First, for that the king kept neither couenant nor oth, nor grant by charter from the beginning, to the Prince or his people. Secondlie, for that the kings men doo cruellie exercise tyrannie towards the Church and Churchmen. Thirdlie, that they be not bound to anie such matter, seeing they be the Princes tenants: who is readie to doo vsed and accustomed seruice, and to obey the king, with and by the said seruice.

3 To that which is said, that the Prince should simplie commit himselfe to the kings will, it is answered, that none of vs all dare come to the king, for the causes aforesaid, we altogither will not suffer our Prince to come in that manner.

4 Item, where the great men of England would procure a prouision of a thousand pounds a yeare in England: let it be answered, that such prouision is not to be accepted, for that it is procured by them, who go about to disinherit the Prince to haue his lands in Wales.

5 Item, the Prince ought not to dismisse his inheritance, and his predecessors in Wales, since the time of Brutus, and confirmed by

the sea apostolike, as is aforesaid, and to take lands in England, where he knoweth neither toong, manners, lawes, nor customes, wherein he shall be soone trapped by his neighbours the Englishmen, his old malicious enemies, whereby he should lose the land too.

6 Item, seeing the king goeth about to depriue him of his ancient inheritauce, it is not like that he would suffer him to possesse lands in England where he claimeth no right; seeing that the Princes lands in Wales of his owne inheritance is but barren and vntilled, it is lesse like the king would suffer him to enioie good fertile ground in England.

7 Item, the Prince should giue the king possession of Snowdon for euer. Let it be answered, that seeing that Snowdon is of the appurtenances of the principalitie of Wales, which the Prince and his predecessors held since the the time of Brute (as it is before said) his councell will not suffer him to renounce that place, and to take in England a place lesse due vnto him.

8 Item, the people of Snowdon doo saie, that although the Prince would giue the king possession of it, yet they would neuer doo homage to strangers: of whose toong, manners, and lawes they should be ignorant. For so they should be foreuer captiued and cruellie handled, as the Cantreds haue beene by the kings bailiffes and other the kings men handled more cruellie than Sarracens, as it dooth well appeare by the notes of their greefes, which the men of the Cantreds sent to you holie father.

No. XXI.

These are to be answered for Dauid, the Princes Brother.

WHEN he is disposed to see the holie land, he will doo it for Gods sake voluntarilie, not by such inforcement against his will: for he intendeth not to go on pilgrimage after that sort. Bicause he knoweth enforced seruice not to please God; and if he hereafter shall for deuotion see the holie land, that is no cause for euer to disinherit his offspring, but rather to reward them.

And for that neither the Prince nor his people, for countrie nor for gaines, did mooue warre, inuading no mans lands, but defending their owne lands, lawes, and liberties; and that the king and his people of inueterate hatred, and for couetousnes to get our

lands inuading the same, mooued warre: wee therefore see our defense is iust and lawfull, and herein wee trust God will helpe vs, and will turne his reuenge vpon destroiers of churches; who haue rooted vp and burned churches, and taken out both all sacraments and sacred things from them, killing preests, clarkes, religious, lame, dombe, deaffe, yonglings sucking their mothers paps, weake and impotent, both man and woman, and committing all other enormities, as partlie it appeareth to your holinesse. Wherefore God forbid that your holinesse should fulminate sentence against anie, but such as hath doone such things. We who haue suffered all these things at the kings officers hands, doo hope at your hands remedie and comfort; and that you will punish such church robbers and killers, who can defend themselues no waies, least their impunitie be cause and example for others to do the like. Uerie manie in our countrie doo much maruell that you counselled vs to leaue our owne land, and to go to another mans lands among our enemies to liue: for seeing we cannont haue peace in our owne land, which is our owne right, much lesse should we be quiet in another mans amongst our enemies. And though it be hard to liue in warre and perrill, harder it is to be vtterlie destroied and brought to nothing: especiallie for christians, seeking else nothing but to defend our owne, being by necessitie driuen therevnto, and the greedie ambition of our enemies.

And your holinesse told vs, that you had fulminated sentence against all that for hatred or gaines doo hinder the peace. And it appeareth euidentlie who doo war for these causes, the feare of death, the feare of imprisonment, the feare of perpetuall prison, the feare of disinheriting, no keeping of promise, couenant, grant, nor charter, tyrannicall dominion, and manie more like compell vs to be in warre, and this we shew to God and to your lordship, desiring your godlie and charitable Helpe.

Furthermore, if anie in England haue offended the king (as manie doo offend him) yet none of them be disinherited: so if anie of vs haue offended the king, let him be punished and make satisfaction, as he maie, without exhereditating. As we trust in you, we praie you holie Father to labour to this end. If they laie to vs that we breake the peace, it appeareth euidentlie that they and not we breake the same, who neuer kept promise, nor couenant, nor order, made amends for trespasses, nor remedie for our complaints.

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Bleddyn and Rhiwallon, sons of Cynvyn, brothers, by the mother's side to Gryffyth ap Llewelyn, were invested by Edward the Confessor with the sovereignty of North Wales, I. 336 Rhiwallon being slain in battle, Bleddyn is sole sovereign of North Wales and Powys, 344, 345. Bleddyn assassinated by Rhys, 348. His character, 348, 349.

Bledrus, prince of Cornwall, 131. 148.

Boadicea, a British princess, cruelly treated by the Romans, I. 18, 22.

Bôd, the mansion house of a chieftain on his first settlement, I. 185. An assemblage of *bods* formed a *trev* or twonship, *ibid.*

Bran-ap-Llyr, duke of Cornwall, afterwards chosen king of Britain, I. 35.

Bretaigne, formerly Armorica, an asylum for the Britons, I. 123, 138.

Brigantes, a British tribe or nation, I. 10.

Britain, received its name and inhabitants originally from the Gauls, I. 1—3 Its division and government, 3—5. Invaded by the Romans, 6. Reduced to a Roman province, 31. Invaded by the Picts, Scots, and Saxons, 32. 36, 41. Most of the Roman forces withdrawn from the island, 42. Finally left by the Romans, 44. Introduction and progress of christianity in Britain, 173—175. II. 365—382.

British government, imperial dignity of, ended, I. 141.

British nobility massacred, I. 89.

Britons, character of, I. 63, 64, 84, 124, 125.

Britons, on the dissolution of the Roman power, governed by their own Reguli who descended from their ancient

sovereigns, I. 40. The original imperial line, in later times continued in two branches, the Cynethian and Cornwall families, 5.

——— their history after the retreat of the Romans, I. 47—125. The successions of their kings; Constantine, 51. Constans, 59. Vortigern, 61. Vortimer, 78. Ambrosius, 93. Urthur Pendragon, 100. Arthur, 104. Constantine, 119. Cadvan, 132. Cadwallon, 136. Cadwalader, 138.

——— their wars with the Picts and Scots, I. 49—53. Send to the Saxons for their assistance, 63—67. Their wars with the Saxons, 79—120 Reduced to the narrow limits of Cambria or Wales, (Cornwall and Strath-Clyde except) 126.

B*rochmael*, prince of Powys, I. 129.

B*ruce, William de*, lord of Brecknock, massacred the Welsh lords, I. 518, 519. This was done by the secret influence of the king of England, 522.

B*ruce, Maud de*, her death and burial, II. 20.

B*ruce, Reginald de*, marries the daughter of Llewelyn prince of North Wales, II. 34.

B*ryn-y-Pin*, five miles west of St. Asaph. I. 475.

Buellt, a Castle of the English, surprised by Llewelyn. II. 162,

B*urgh, Hubert de*, justiciary of England, accused of a frivolous crime, II. 71.

B*wlch-y-ddau-vaen*, a pass over the Conway, I. 225.

C.

Cadell, second son of Roderic the Great, succeeded to the sovereignty of South Wales, I. 226. His death and successor, 233.

Cador, duke of Cornwall, assisted Arthur against the Saxons, I. 106, 109, 110.

Cadvan, son of Iago ap Beli, prince of North Wales, I. 128. Elected to the sovereignty of Britain, 132.

Cadwalader, son of Cadwallon, succeeded to the kingdom of North Wales, and to the ideal sovereignty of Britain, I. 138. Retired with numbers of his subjects to Bretaigne, *ibid.* He proceeded to Rome, and became a monk, 141. His death closed the imperial dignity annexed to the British government, *ibid.*

Cadwalader and his brother Owen, sons of Gryffydd ap Cynan, invade South Wales, and defeat the English, I. 441—444. Cadwalader imprisoned by his nephew Howel, 462. Escaped from prison, and reduced a great part of Anglesey which belonged to his prother, 468. Forced to reside some time in England, and was murdered by the English, 521.

Cadwallon, son of Cadvan, king of North Wales, driven from his dominions by Edwin the king of Deira, I. 133. Recovered his dominions, defeated and killed king Edwin, and cruelly ravaged his country, 133, 134. Chosen king of the Britons, 136. Was slain in battle, 137.

Cadwallon, the second son of Javan, on the death of his brother Howel, usurped the sovereignty of North Wales, I. 297 Slain by Meredydd prince of South Wales, 298.

Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, a prince of Powys, assisted Gryffydd ap Cynan against the English, I. 387, 388. By a treaty with the English, retained only the territory of Caerdigan and a small part of Powys, 400. Henry I. takes from him his estates, and grants him a pension, 408. The king gave him the territories of his late brother, 411. Murdered by his nephew, 412. His character, *ibid.*

Caer-ar-Clwyd, the capital of the Strath-Clyde Britons, I. 147.

Caerdigan conquered by Rhys ap Gryffydd, I. 483, 489, 498. Bestowed upon Rhys by Henry II. 509.

Caer Lleon, the metropolitan see removed from thence to St. David, II. 384.

Caermarthen, made by Henry I. the principal seat of government, I. 426. The castle of, rebuilt by Gilbert earl of Clare, 457.

Caernarvon, the castle of, erected by Edward I. II. 296, 297. The castle taken by the Welsh, the English murdered, and the town burnt, 335.

Caer Rhun, castle of, I. 225.

Caer Segont, on the Menai in Caernarvonshire, residence of the Welsh princes, I. 142, 148 216.

Cæsar (Julius) invaded Britain, I. 6.

Caledonia, part of, Argricola conquered, I. 27. An insurrection there, suppressed by Lollius Urbicus, 29.

Caledonians cut in pieces a Roman army, I. 29.

Caligula made preparations for the invasion of Britain, I. 8.

Cambria, or Wales, one of the three original parts of Britain, I. 3. Divided into six principalities when the Saxons approached to its borders, 121.
Camlan, in Cornwall, a battle there, in which the renowned Arthur was slain, I. 117.
Camulodunum, the residence of Conobeline I. 9. The Roman colony there slaughtered by the Britons, 20, 21.
Cangi, a number of stout young men in every British tribe, whose business was to protect the cattle, I. 11.
Canterbury, archbishop of, comes into Wales, II. 296.
Cantrev, a hundred *trevs*, I. 185, 186. Contained two *commots*, 247.
Cantrev Mawr, the ancient demesne of the family of Rhys ap Gryffydd, I. 481.
Caractacus, son of Cunobeline, a British prince, defeated and made prisoner by the Romans, I. 13. His speech to the emperor Claudius, 14.
Caradoc a Welsh chieftain, defeated and slain in battle by the Saxons, I. 156.
Caradoc, the son of Gryffydd ap Rhytherch, disappointed in his expectations from Harold, I. 339. His cruel revenge upon Harold, 342. Attacked, defeated and slew Meredydd prince of South Wales, 345. Dies soon after, and leaves his son Rhytherch his successor in the government of South Wales, *ibid*.
Carausius, a sovereign in Britain, I. 31.
Carno, a mountain near Abergavenny, I. 145.
Caron, king of Scotland, in the time of Arthur, I. 106.
Cartigern,, brother of Vortimer, slain in a battle with the Saxons, I. 80.
Cartismandua, a British queen, betrayed Caractacus into the hands of the Romans, I. 13.
Cassivellaunus, a British general, I. 6.
Castles in advantageous situations, which shewed great military sagacity, I. 225, 226.
Castles and towns built by the lords of the marches, I. 379, 380.
Caswallon-law-hir, son of Einion Urdd, routed the Irish Scots at Holyhead, I. 41.
Caswallon, the eldest branch of the Cynethian family, prince of North Wales, to whom the other Cambrian princes paid homage, made choice of Mona for his residence, I. 55.

Celibacy of the clergy, resisted with firmness by the church of Cambria, II. 391.
Cenric, son of Cerdic, a Saxon chieftain, I. 100, 113.
Cerdic, with his son Cenric, landed in Britain, and founded the kingdom of Wessex, I. 100. Landed with a large body of Saxons in Scotland, 106. Engaged in several battles with king Arthur, 107—114. Reduced the Isle of Wight, 115.
Chamberlain, in the Welsh king's palace, I 257, 258.
Chaplain, domestic, in the Welsh king's palace, I. 252.
Chester, battle of, between the Welsh and Saxons, I. 128. In the possession of the Welsh till taken by king Egbert, 208. Had been demolished by the Danes, and was rebuilt by Elfleda, 233, 234. Edgar received homage there from the princes of Wales, 290.
——— Ranulph earl of, invades Wales, and himself and the greatest part of his army were slain, or taken prisoners, 463, 464.
Christianity, its introduction and progress among the Britons, I. 173. II. 366—391.
Christians in Britain, suffered in Dioclesian's persecution, II. 370, 371.
Church of Cambria, preserved her independency on Rome, II. 391.
Cilgeran, castle of, taken from the English by Rhys ap Gryffydd, I. 498.
Cil Owen, or Owen's retreat, near St. Asaph, I. 475.
Clare, Richard earl of, to whom Caerdigan had been given by Henry I. murdered by Iorwerth, I. 445. His countess besieged and gallantly rescued, 445—447.
Claudius the emperor, and his army, subdued a great part of Britain, I. 8, 9.
Clergy, originally had no distinct *parishes*, or *cures*, II. 390.
Code of laws formed by Howel Dda, I. 238—282. The only edition of published by Dr. Wotton, 281.
Coel, sovereign of North Wales, I. 34. His daughter Helena was married to the emperor Constantius, *ibid.*
Colgrin, a Saxon prince, defeated by king Arthur, I. 105.
Columba, St. an Irish monk, promotes the gospel among the Picts and Scots, II. 389.
Commots, two or more in a *cantrev* in the division of Wales I. 186, 247 A *commot* contained twelve manors, 247.

Constans, son of Constantine, king of Britain, I. 59. Murdered by Vortigern's guards, 60.

Constantine the Great, enforced the obedience of the Britons, I. 32.

Constantine, though of mean rank, was elected king of Britain, I. 43. Passed over into Gaul with an army, and was put to death by Honorius, *ibid.* Those who remained of his followers settled in Armorica, 44.

Constantine, brother to the king of Armorica, promoted to the British throne, I. 50, 51. Murdered by a Pict, 59.

Constantine, the son of Cador duke of Cornwall, succeeded his uncle Arthur in the throne of Britain, I. 119. Was the last king of Britain of the Cornwall family; he afterwards engaged in a religious life, 120.

Constantine the Black, the son of Iago, was slain in a battle with his cousin Howel, I. 293.

Constantius, emperor, died at York, his character, I. 31. Married Helena, daughter of Coel, sovereign of North Wales, 34.

Conway, the water of, an arm of the sea in North Wales, I. 225.

Conway, castle of, built by king Edward, II. 296.

Cook, at the royal palace of Wales, I. 263.

Cornwall family, one of the two branches of the imperial family of Britain, I. 5. Derived from Bran-ap-Llyr, a duke of that province, 35. Several illustrious names in this family, *ibid.* The last king of Britain of this family, 120.

Cornwall, earl of, lends his nephew Edward the English prince 4000 marks to carry on the war against Llewelyn, II. 141.

Cornwall, earl of, regent, (king Edward being in France) marches into Wales with an army, to check the insurrection of Rhys ap Meredydd, II. 325—327. Takes and demolishes Ruslin and some other castles, and grants him a truce, 328, 329. Again summons the English nobility to take up arms against him, 330.

Cosa, a Saxon leader, taken prisoner by the Britons, I. 101.

Crida, with a numerous body of Saxons, having forced the Britons beyond the Severn, founded the kingdom of Mercia, I. 122, 123.

Criminal law of Howel Dda, I. 280—283.

Croisades, preached by the archbishop of Canterbury throughout Wales, I. 175.
Cruelties of the Saxons, 92.
——— of the Welsh, I. 389, 390. II. 64, 65.
——— of the English, I. 397, 398. II. 283.
Cudred, king of the West Saxons, joined the Welsh, and left them, I. 146.
Cunobeline, a British king, I. 9.
Cup-bearer, at the royal palace of Wales, I. 262.
Cures, residentiary, of the clergy in Wales, origin of, II. 298.
Customs, English, laws and tenures, for the most part, in the marches of Wales, I. 381, 382.
Cymer, an abbey of the Cisterian order, a friar of which deceived the English soldiers, II. 66—68.
Cynan Tindaethwy, eldest son of Roderic Maelwynoc, succeeded to the throne of North Wales, I. 149. His death, 205.
Cynan, son of Howel, aspiring to the government of North Wales, was slain, I. 305.
Cynan, only son of Iago ap Edwal, I. 315. With the assistance of the king of Dublin takes Gryffydd prince of North Wales prisoner, but is defeated, 318, 319. In attempting to recover his inheritance, his fleet was destroyed or dispersed, 321, 322.
Cynetha, prince of North Wales, nephew to Helena, I. 35. His sons left the Strath-Clyde kingdom, and their descendants were the princes of North Wales, *ibid*.
Cynetha, ap Cadwallon ap Gryffydd ap Cynan, had his eyes pulled out, and was castrated by his uncle Owen Gwynedd, I. 467.
Cynfrig ap Gronw, a bard, who mentions Madoc's discovery of America, I. 507, *note*.

D.

Damianus, sent by Eleutherius, to instruct the Welsh in the Christian faith, I. 173.
Danes began to infest the coasts of Britain, I. 202. Joined with the Welsh against the Saxons, 207, 208, 213. Their hostilities against the Welsh, 216, 232, 233, 287, 293, 294, 299—303.
Daniel, abbot of Bangor in Flintshire, afterwards bishop of Bangor in Caernarvonshire, II. 389.

David, St. uncle to king Arthur, and archbishop of Wales, eradicated the opinions, of Pelagius, II. 383, 384. His age, death and burial, 385.

David, college of St. Asser educated there, II. 215.

David, city of St. ravaged by the Danes, and its bishop slain, I. 299, 303. Seven suffragan bishops to that see II. 386.

David ap Owen Gwynedd, prince of North Wales, I. 506. Took Anglesey from his brother Roderic, whom he confined in prison, 514. Married Emma, sister to Henry II. and sent a thousand soldiers to assist his brother-in-law in France, 515. Obliged by his brother Roderic to retire for security to the English side of the Conway, 520. Yielded the sovereignty to Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, as the right heir to the crown, II. 2. Attempting to recover the sovereignty, was made prisoner and confined by Llewelyn, 6. He and his son Owen slain by Llewelyn at Conway, 18.

David, the younger son of Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, the favourite of his father, II. 86. Seized a great part of the territories of his elder brother Gryffydd, and imprisoned him, 90, 91. Succeeds his father in the government of North Wales, 95. On his refusal to release his brother, is excommunicated by the bishop of Bangor, 99, 100. His uncle king Henry advanced with an army against him, 105. His treaty with Henry, 106, 107. Did homage to Henry, and delivered up his brother Gryffydd to him, 109, 110. Offers to hold his dominions as a fief of the holy see, 114. Ravages the estates of the English lords, 116—118. Henry, with his English and Irish subjects, dreadfully ravages Wales, 120—129. The death and burial of David, 130.

David, the younger brother of Owen ap Gryffydd ap Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, being drawn by Owen to engage in hostilities against his brother Llewelyn prince of North Wales, was taken prisoner and confined, II. 137, 138. Fled into England, and engaged in the service of king Henry, 177, 178. Was knighted in king Edward's service, 210. His reconciliation with his brother Llewelyn, and the occasion of it, 227—229. His refusal to consent to take the *cross*, and his answer to the archbishop of Canterbury, 245, 246, 251—254. On the death of Llew-

elyn, became prince of Wales, 280, 281. Himself and family brought prisoners to the king Edward, 284, 285. Relics found on him presented to the king, *ibid.* Condemned and executed as a traitor, 287, 288. His death closed the only sovereignty which remained of the ancient British empire, I. 35. II. 289.

Davies's, Dr. dictionary commended, I. 184 *note*.

Days of the week, names of, taken from the Saxon deities, I. 65.

Deira, Edwin king of, extended his conquests over all the British territories in Wales, and the Isle of Man, I. 133.

——— and Bernicia, united into the kingdom of Northumberland, I. 136.

Denisbourne, in Northumberland, a battle there with the Saxons, in which Cadwallon king of the Britons was slain, I. 137.

Diganwy, in Caernarvonshire, the residence of the prince of Wales, was once a Roman station, I. 104, 141, 142. II. 122. Destroyed by lightning, I. 203. Rebuilt by the earl of Chester, II. 20. By Henry III. 122, 128. Besieged by Llewelyn, 147. Taken and destroyed by Llewelyn, 170.

Dinevawr, in Caermarthenshire, ancient residence of the princes of South Wales, I. 226, 466, 489. Besieged by Henry III. who was defeated by Llewelyn, II. 141. Taken from the English by Rhys ap Meredydd, 327.

Diserth, castle of, repaired by Henry III. II. 112.

Diversions, of the ancient Welsh, I. 179—184.

Door-keeper, at the royal palace in Wales, I. 262, 263.

Druids, massacred by the Romans; some retired into Ireland, and the islands of Scotland, I. 16, 18. Expelled from Scotland, II. 371.

Dubricius, eminent for piety and learning, had at one time 1000 scholars, was bishop of Llandaff, and afterwards primate of all Wales, II. 381—383.

Dunothus, abbot of Bangor, I. 131.

Dunwallon, prince of the Strath-Clwyd Britons who had settled in North Wales, engaged in a religious life, I. 291.

Dyke, Offa's, from the Dee to the Wye, I. 151—153.

Dynwyllir, a castle built there, I. 485.

E.

Eadberd, king of Northumberland, took Caer-ar-Clwyd, the capital of the Strath-Clyde Britons, I. 147.
Eadred, earl of Mercia, defeated by the Britons, I. 229, 230.
East Angles, the fifth kingdom of the Heptarchy, I. 113.
Ebsfleete, in the isle of Thanet, the Saxon auxiliaries land there, the place allotted for their residence, I. 66.
Edelfrid, king of Northumberlaod, ordered the monks of Bangor to be cut in pieces, but was afterwards defeated I. 128—132.
Edfridus king of Bernicia, assassinated by the Welsh I. 134,135.
Edgar, king of England, exacts of the prince of North Wales the yearly payment of the heads of 300 Wolves, I. 286. Confirmed the privileges of the bishopric of Bangor, and received homage of the Welsh princes, 289—291.
Ednerth, ap Cadwgan, his sons drive the Normans from South Wales with great slaughter, I. 392.
Edwal, a minor when his father Cadwalader the last king of the Britons abdicated his throne, I. 142.
Edwal Voel, king of North Wales, succeeded his father Anarawd, and was slain fighting against the English and Danes I. 234—236.
Edwal ap Meyric, king of North Wales, I. 288, 301. Slain in battle with the Danes, 302.
Edward, prince of Wales, son of Henry III. received from his father the country between Chester and the River Conway II. 136, 137. The Welsh and Llewelyn having revolted, he was obliged to retire before their army, 146. Is inclined to relinquish his dominions in Wales, 150. In the subsequent periods of his life, he pursued the unfortunate Welsh with a cruel and vindictive spirit, because they expressed reluctance to his sovereignty, 152. Arrives from France and marches against Llewelyn, 170. Was recalled by his father 171. Engaged in a croisade to the Holy Land, 184—185, Returns at the death of his father, and is crowned at Westminster, 186. Repaired to Chester and summoned Llewelyn to do homage, 190. Detains Eleanor to whom Llewelyn was betrothed, 193. Determined to obtain the entire conquest of Wales, 194. His efforts for that purpose, 195, 204 His treaty with Llewelyn, 207, 213. He had the coffin of Arthur opened at Glastonbury, 216, 217. Held a Parlia-

ment there, 217. Pardons Llewelyn on his submission, 219 Delivers up to him Eleanor, 220. Attempts to impose on the Welsh the English jurisprudence, 224. Remarkable action of his, 225, 226 *note*. His preparations for the conquest of Wales, 232—234. His march into Wales, and hostilities there, 234—237, 255—258. Was in a dangerous situation, 258, 259. Meanly insulted the remains of Llewelyn, 278, 279. Subdued the inhabitnats of Snowdun and all the country, 283. Proceeded against David the last Sovereign of Wales as a traitor, 287—289. Annexed Wales to the crown of England, 292. Introduced the whole system of English jurisprudence, and granted the Welsh their liberties, and great privileges, 293—297. Ordered all the bards to be hanged, 298. Sent for the Queen to Carnarvon, where she was delivered of Prince Edward, 319.

Edwin, king of Deira, conquered Wales and the isle of Man I. 133. He and his sons slain in battle, 134.

Edwyn, eldest son of Einion, heir to South Wales, I. 295. Obliged the chieftains to acknowledge his sovereignty 300.

Egbert, king of the West Saxons, invaded Wales, I. 205, 206. United the Saxon heptarchy into one kingdom, 206. Took Chester, and affixed the penalty of death to every Welshman who passed the limits of Offa's dyke, 208, 209.

Einion Urdd, an eminent British prince, son of Cynetha, I. 40.

Einion ap Owen ap Howel Dda, prince of South Wales, annexed Gwyr to his father's dominions, I. 287, 292. His death and character, 295.

Elbodius, archbishop of North Wales, II. 404.

Eleanor, daughter of Simon de Montford, and niece to Henry III. betrothed to Llewelyn, II. 191. Detained at court by Edward, 192, 193. Married to Llewelyn, 220. Died in childbed, 223.

Eleanor, queen to Edward, II. 216.

Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, sent missionaries to instruct the Welsh I. 173.

Elfleda, rebuilt Chester, I. 233, 233.

Elis, son of Anarawd, slain in a battle with the English and Danes, I. 234—236.

Ella, a Saxon, king of Sussex, I 95, 97.

Emma, sister to Henry II. married to David prince of North Wales, I. 515.

Giraldus Cambrensis, his description of the manners of the ancient Welsh, I. 158—176.

Glastonbury, Arthur interred there, II. 216, 217. A parliament held there by Edward, *ibid*,

Gryffydd ap Cynan, asserts his right to the crown of North Wales, I. 352. Succeeds Trahaearn, who was slain in battle, 357. Betrayed into the hands of the English, and remained long in captivity, 358, 359. Rescued from prison, 386. Unable to defend Anglesey, he withdrew into Ireland, 396, 397. Returned two years after, and concluded a peace with the English, 400. Repaired to Henry's court, and was received with honour, 423. Contrary to honour and friendship, would have delivered up Gryffydd ap Rhys to Henry, 423—425. At Henry's death, joined the Welsh in their general revolt from the English, 439. His death and burial 448. His character, 449—452.

Gryffydd ap Gwenwynwyn, one of the chieftains in Powys, banished by Llewelyn, II. 152. Returned to the allegiance, and took and demolished the castle of Mold, 171, 172.

Gryffydd ap Llewelyn ap Seisyllt, having defeated and slain Iago ap Edwal, succeeded him in the government of North Wales, I. 315. Received the submission of the inhabitants of South Wales, *ibid.* but was opposed by Howel and other competitors, 316—320. Joins with Algar earl of Chester in ravaging the borders of England, 324, 325. Had a narrow escape from the English, 330. His country subdued in his absence, 330—333. Put to death by his own subjects, 334. His character, 335, 336.

Gryffydd ap Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, was very brave, II. 17. Undutiful to his father, 50. Imprisoned by his father six years, 83. His younger brother David seized on a great part of his territories, and imprisoned him, 90—93. Efforts for his release while David reigned, 99—105. Received from David by Henry, and confined in the Tower, 110. Killed in an attempt to escape, 111. His remains honourably interred, 136.

Gryffydd ap Madoc, lord of Dinas-Bran, submitted to Llewelyn, II. 152—154. His death and burial, 184 *note*.

Gryffydd Maelor, son of Madoc ap Meredydd, his death I. 524.

Gryffydd ap Rhys ap Tewdwr, having remained in Ireland for safety, returned at the age of twenty-five into South

Wales, I. 420, 421. For fear of king Henry, seeks protection with Gryffydd ap Cynan king of North Wales, 421, 422. Makes his escape from Gryffydd, to avoid being delivered up to Henry, 424, 425. Takes several fortresses from the English, 425—427. The chieftains of Caerdigan espouse his cause, 428. His death and character, 447, 448.

Gryffydd ap Rhytherch ap Jestyn, in endeavouring to wrest South Wales from Gryffydd king of North Wales, lost his life, I. 323.

Gryffydd ap yr Ynad Côch, a bard, II. 276.

Gueniver, Arthur's queen, I. 114, 117.

Gutwin Owen, a poet, I. 507 *note.*

Gwedir family, history of, II. 224 *note.*

Gwenllian, an assertion concerning her contradicted, I. 440 *note.*

Gwenwynwyn, lord of the higher Powys, son of Owen Cyveilioc, his hostilities with the English, II. 8—10. Made his submission to Llewelyn, 16. Detained by the English at Shrewsbury, and Llewelyn gained possession of his territories, 18, 19. Joins with king John as his vassal, 21. His territories laid waste by Llewelyn, 37. Was succeeded by his son Gryffydd, 102.

Gwyr, taken and laid waste by Einion the son of Owen, I. 287, 292. and by Meredydd and Rhys, 466.

Gwys, the castle of, taken by the sons of Gryffydd ap Rhys, I. 460, 461. Destroyed by Llewelyn, II. 48.

H.

Harlech, castle of, in North Wales, I. 121, 226.

Harold, son of earl Godwin, marched into North Wales, I. 326, 329. Subdued the country, 332, 333. Erected a splendid house at Portaskewith, 340. His death, and the consequence, 342.

Hawks the master of, at the royal palace in Wales, I. 253, 254.

Heir, apparent to the king of North Wales, I. 250, 251.

Helena, daughter of Coel prince of North Wales, married to the emperor Constantius, I. 34.

Helena, daughter of Euda duke of Cornwall, and king of Britain, I. 38.

Hengist, a Saxon prince, assists the Britons, I. 65—68.

England, received its name from Egbert, I. 207.
——— kings of, contemporary with the princes of North Wales,

Egbert began to reign, A. D.	828.
Ethelwolf	838.
Ethelbald	857.
Ethelbert	860.
Ethelred I.	866.
Alfred the Great	872.
Edward the Elder	900.
Athelstan	925.
Edmund I.	941.
Edred	948.
Edwy	955.
Edgar	959.
Edward the Martyr	975.
Ethelred II.	978.
Edmund Ironside	1016.
Canute	1017.
Harold Harefoot	1036.
Hardiknute	1039.
Edward the Confessor ..	1041.
Harold	1066.
William the Conqueror ..	1066.
William Rufus	1087.
Henry I.	1100.
Stephen	1135.
Henry II.	1154.
Richard I.	1189.
John	1199.
Henry III.	1216.
Edward I.	1272.

——— received a terrible blow from the Welsh, I. 444. Entirely driven out of North Wales, II. 32.
——— barons revolt from Henry III. and join with Llewelyn, II. 70, 71.
Eppa, a Saxon, poisoned Ambrosius, I. 99.
Esca, son of Hengist, took refuge in York, I. 97. Taken by the Britons, 101. Slain in battle, *ibid*.
Essex, Sussex, Middlesex, and Kent, given to Hengist by Vortigern, I. 74, 90.
Essex, from whence its name, I. 95, 96.

Esyllt, daughter to Cynan Tindaethwy, with her husband Mervyn Vrych, succeeded her father in the government of North Wales, I 205.
Ethelbald, king of Mercia, successful in his hostilities against the Welsh, I. 145—147.
Ethelwulph, king of England, assists the king of Mercia against the Welsh, I. 212, 213.
Euda, duke of Cornwall, elected to the sovereign dignity, I. 38.

F.

Faganus, a missionary for the conversion of the Welsh, I. 173.
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Flemings, a colony of, settled in South Wales by Henry I. I. 415. Others of the same country permitted to settle among them in the province of Pembroke by Henry II. 469.
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Howel, and Meredydd, sons of Edwyn, assassinate Llewelyn ap Seisyllt, I. 310. Are excluded from the succession of South Wales, 312, 313. Howel driven into exile, 314, 316. His wife taken by Gryffydd ap Llewelyn, 316, 317. Howel slain in battle, 320.

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Iago ap Beli, prince of North Wales, founded the deanery of Bangor, I. 128.

Iago, son of Edwal Voel, with his brother Ieuav, setting aside their elder brother Meyric, succeeded Howel Dda in the government of North Wales, I. 283. and soon conquered South Wales, 284, 285. Paid the king of England the heads of three hundred wolves, as a yearly tribute, 286. Iago imprisons his brother Ieuav, and his country greatly distressed, 287. Being defeated by Howel, son of Ieuav, he retires into England, 288. By the assistance of Edgar, obtains an equal share in his government of North Wales, with Howel, 289, 290. Was imprisoned by Howel, but allowed to enjoy during life his portion of territory, 292.

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Ida, a Saxon, founded the kingdom of Northumberland, I. 120.

Ieuav, the second and Iago the third son of Edwal Voel, setting aside their elder brother Meyric, assumed the government of North Wales, I. 283. Became the entire sovereigns of Wales, 284, 285. Ieuav is imprisoned by Iago 287. Delivered out of prison, but deposed by his own son Howel, who succeeds him in the government of North Wales, 288, 289.

Iestyn ap Gwrgaint, lord of Glamorgan, with the assistance of Normans, conquers Rhys ap Tewdwr, prince of South Wales, I. 365—367. Is dispossessed of his territories by the Normans, 369.

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Ionaval, eldest son of Meyric, the eldest son of Edwal Voel, murdered by his cousin Cadwallon, I. 297.

Iorwerth, one of the princes of Powys, son of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, assists Henry I. but is disgrace and imprisoned, I. 401—404. Is released and restored to his territory, 407. Treacherously murdered, 410.

Iorwerth, lord of Caer Lleon upon Uske, ejected by Henry II. I. 508. Recovered the city and castle, 514.

Iorwerth, eldest son of Owen Gwynedd, set aside from the succession on account of a personal blemish, I. 505. II. 1.

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Ithel, son of Gryffydd ap Llewelyn, slain in battle, I. 344.

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Ivor, son of Alan, obtained the sovereigtny of the western part of Britain, including Saxons and Britons, I. 142, 143. Retires to a cloister, 144.

Jurisprudence, established by Howel Dda, I. 242—283.

K.

Kent, Hengist invested with the sovereignty of, I. 74.

Kentwyn, king of the West Saxons, I, 143.

Kenulph, king of Mercia, makes great devastations in Wales, I. 206.

Feasts the British king Vortigern, and gives him his daughter Rowenna in marriage, 72—74. Made sovereign of Kent, and has the possesion of Essex, Sussex, and Middlesex, 71. Fights against the Britons by land and sea, 80, 81. Obliged with his troops to retire into Germany, 81. Returns into Britain with four thousand Saxons, and imposes on Vortigern, 86—88. Massacred above 300 of the British nobility, 89. Is confirmed in the possession of his former territories, 90. Sends for more Saxons, and plants colonies in Essex and Middlesex, 95, 96. Is defeated, taken prisoner, and beheaded by Ambrosius, 96.

Henry I. settled a colony of Flemings in South Wales, I. 414, 415. Prepares to subdue the Welsh, 416—418. Makes peace with them, 420. Invites and entertains Gryffydd king of North Wales, 423, 424. His wicked measures against Gryffydd ap Rhys, 431. Marches with an army into Wales, 434—437. His death, and the consequence, 439.

Henry II. permits the Flemish soldiers to settle among their countrymen in the province of Pembroke, I. 469. Attempts the conquest of Wales, 470—477. Receives the submission of Owen Gwynedd prince of Wales and the chieftains, 478—481. His hostilities with the revolted Welsh, 491—497. Ordered the eyes of the hostages to be pulled out, 496, 497. Makes peace with Rhys ap Gryffydd, and goes into Ireland, 508, 509. Appoints Rhys ap Gryffydd chief justice of South Wales, 513. Gives to David prince of Wales his sister Emma in marriage, 515. His death, 524

Henry III. receives the homage of Llewelyn prince of Wales, II. 43. Rebuilds the castle of Montgomery, 49. Made an inglorious campaign in Wales, 56—59. Applied to the Pope for spiritual aid, who excommunicated Llewelyn, 65. Made a treaty with Llewelyn, 70. His hostilities with the revolted barons in connection with the Welsh, 70—80. Made peace with them, 81—83. Employs the bishops of Chester and Hereford in a negotiation with Llewelyn, for holding his dominions as a fief of the English crown, 88. His treaty with David prince of Wales, in which arbitrators were appointed to settle all matters in dispute, 96. Orders David to release his elder

brother Gryffydd from imprisonment, 101. Receives homage from David, 109. Imprisons Gryffydd and his eldest son Owen in the Tower, 110. Gives to his eldest son Edward the title of prince of Wales, 113. Entered into Wales at the head of his army, and rebuilt the castle of Diganwy, 121—124. Makes peace with Owen and Llewelyn ap Gryffydd, 135, 136. Conducts the war against Llewelyn, 147—149, 153. Makes a truce with him, 161, 167. Was thrown with his son Edward into the hands of the earl of Leicester, 174. Obtains the liberty, 181. Makes a treaty with Llewelyn, 182—184. His death, 185.

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Hereford, bishop of, slain at Glastonbury by Llewelyn, I. 328.

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Hobart, conducted the remains of the Strath-Clyde Britons into that part which lies between the Dee and the Conway, I. 229.

Holywell, more strongly fortified by the earl of Chester, II. 20.

Honorius, the emperor, renounced the sovereignty of Britain, I. 44.

Hope, castle, king Edward obliged to retire into, II. 236.

Horsa, a saxon prince, comes to assist the Britons, with his brother Hengist, I. 66.

Horse, master of the, to the king of Wales, I. 256, 257.

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Howel, king of Armorica, assists his uncle Arthur against the Saxons, I. 106. Is assisted in Armorica by Arthur, 113, 114.

Howel, the younger son of the late king Roderic Moelwynoc, contends with his brother Cynan for the island of Mona, I. 204.

Howel Dda, prince of South Wales, obtained the sovereignty of Powys and North Wales, and united the three principalities into one kingdom, I. 236, 237. Collected the customs and laws of Wales into one code, 238—240. His death and character, 241, 242. His laws, 243—283.

Howel, the son of Ieuav, defeats his uncle Iago, deposes his father, and attains to the sovereignty of North Wales, I. 288, 289. Puts out the eyes of his uncle Meyric, 288.

Kettel, a severe battle at, between the Welsh and Saxons, I. 210.

Kingly office permitted by the Romans in many provinces of Britain, I. 33.

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Llandovery, castle taken by Rhys ap Meredydd, II. 327.

Lanwanoc, battle of, between the Danes and the Welsh, I. 293, 294.

Llewelyn ap Seisyllt, by right of his wife Angharad, daughter of Meredydd, succeeded to the principality of South Wales, I. 303. Dispossessed Ædan king of North Wales of his royalty and life, and succeeded him, 305, 306. Put an end to a rebellion in South Wales, 308—310. Erected the castle of Rhuddlan, 311. Was assassinated, 310.

Llewelyn and his brother Gronw, the sons of Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, raise an insurrection in South Wales, to revenge the murder of their grandfather, I. 354.

Llewelyn, ap Iorwerth obtains the sovereignty of North Wales as his right, in preference to David his uncle, II. 1, 2. His treaty of peace with England, 10—14. Receives homage from the Welsh chieftains, 15. Received Joan, a daughter of king John, in marriage, 16. His hostilities in South Wales, and success against king John, 18—32. Excommunicated by the Pope, 33. Refuses aid to king John, 37, 38. Does homage to Henry III. 43, 44. Gave one of his daughters in marriage to John de Bruce, a powerful baron, and another to the nephew of the earl of Chester, 48. Violates the peace with Henry, 48, 49. Punished the disobedience of his son Gryffydd, 50, 51. His hostilities with the earl of Pembroke, 51—55. His treaty with Henry, 58, 59. Puts William de Bruce to death, and for what cause, 60, 61. His confederacy with the revolted barons, and hostilities with Henry, 62—79. Treaty of peace, 81, 82. Releases his son Gryffydd after

six years confinement, 83. Received the oaths of allegiance from the chieftains in Wales, who likewise did homage to his son David, 86. Lost his vigour of mind, and gave notice to Henry that he was willing to hold his dominions as a fief of the English crown, 87, 88. His death and character, 93, 94.

Llewelyn ap Gryffydd, with his brother Owen, succeed their uncle David ap Llewelyn in the principality of North Wales, II. 133. Paid homage to Henry III. 136. Llewelyn routs his brother's army, and is in the sole possession of what remained of the mutilated kingdom, 138. Revolts from Henry, 138—141. His hostilites and success, 144—149. His address to his followers, 151—156. His truce with Henry, 157. Conditions of peace ratified, 165. His confederacy with the earl of Leicester, 168, 175—179. His treaty with king Henry, 183, 184. Refuses to repair to Shrewsbury to do homage to king Edward, unless hostages were given, 187. Had been betrothed to Eleanor, daughter to the earl of Leicester, and niece to king Henry, 191, 192. Demands her of king Edward, 196. His country possessed by the English army, 205, 206. Treaty granted him by Edward, to whom he swore fealty, 207—213. His marriage with Eleanor celebrated in the presence of the king, 220. Sustained a severe loss by her death, 223. He and his brother David excite a general insurrection in Wales, 230, 231. The revolt supported, and negotiation is without effect, 232—254. Leaves David to guard the passes of the mountains, and marches with a body of forces to South Wales, 264, 265. His troops defeated and himself slain, 268—271. His character, 274, 275. Extract from his elegy, 275, 276. His head fixed on the Tower, 278. His daughter, her education and marriage, 273, 274 *note*.

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Llwyd, Nathan, a chieftain of North Wales, who joined king Arthur, I. 108.

Lollius Urbicus, Roman general in Britain, I. 29.

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Lucius, king, said to be a christian, about the end of the second century, I. 173. II. 366, 367.

M.

Madoc ap Ririd, murdered his uncle Iorwerth, I. 410, 411, and his other uncle Cadwgan, 411, 412. Had his eyes put out, 414.

Madoc ap Meredydd, prince of Powys, excites Henry II. to invade North Wales, I. 470. His death, 485.

Madoc, a son of Owen Gwynedd, is said to have discovered America, and to have settled there with some of his countrymen, I. 506, 507.

Madoc, an illegitimate son of Llewelyn ap Gryffydd, assumed the title of prince, and excited an insurrection, II. 334. The occasion and success of the revolt, 332—335. He was routed, taken, and imprisoned in the Tower, 342.

Maelgwyn, eldest son of Caswallon-law-hir, and nephew to king Arthur, reigned in that part which is now called North Wales, I. 103, 104. Elected king of Britain, 121.

Maelgwyn Vychan, conducted a revolt in Pembroke, and was executed, II. 336.

Magnus, the son of Harold king of Norway, took possessio of the Orkneys and the Isle of Man, and assisted th Welsh against the English, I. 398 399.

Man, the Isle of, conquered by Edwin king of Deira, I. 133. Mervin Vrych, king of, 205.

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Marches, the lords of the, established in Wales, I. 369—371. An account of them, 374—384. Two of those lords rebelled against Henry, 401.

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Mathravel, in Montgomeryshire; the palace of the princes of Powys there, I. 153, 227.

Maximus, a Roman general, married a daughter of Euda duke of Cornwall, and having usurped the empire, was put to death, I. 38 39.

Mead-brewer at the British court, I. 261.

Menai, a strait which separates Anglesey from the coast of Caernarvon, passed over on horseback by the Romans under the command of Agricola, I. 25. Many of the English there lost their lives, II. 258.

Meirion Goch, betrayed Gryffydd prince of North Wales into the hands of the English. I. 358

Mercia, kingdom of, founded by Crida, I. 122, 123.

Meredydd, king of South Wales, I. 131.

Meredydd, prince of Powys, son of Owen Prince of South Wales slew the usurper Cadwallon, and became king of North Wales, I. 298. Disregarding the rights of the sons of Einion his eldest brother, he succeeded his father as prince of South Wales, 299. Deserted the government of North Wales, 301. His death, 303.

Meredydd, the son of Edwyn ap Einion ap Owen ap Howel Dda, with his brother Howel, assassinated Llewelyn ap Seisyllt, I. 310. Was himself assassinated 313.

Meredydd, eldest son of Owen ap Edwyn, prince of South Wales, I. 336, 340.

Meredydd ap Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, prince of Powys, delivered himself up to Henry, I. 417. Makes peace with him, 420. His death, 438, 439.

Meredydd ap Gryffydd ap Rhys, his death, I. 468.

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Meredydd ap Rhys ap Rhys ap Gryffydd, revolted from the Welsh confederacy to the English, II. 158. Held his territory immediately from the king, 183.

Merlin, a prophecy of, II. 259, 260. There were two Merlins, I. 140.

Mervyn Vrych, king of Man, married Esyllt daughter of Cynan Tindaethwy king of North Wales, and succeeded her father in the government, I. 205. His death, 210.

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Metropolitan see removed from Caer Lleon to Menevia, now St. David, II. 384, 385.

Meyric, prince of South Wales, I. 106.

Meyric, eldest son of Edwal Voel, set aside from the succession, and had his eyes put out, I. 288.

Meyric, a chieftain, rebels, and is slain by Llewelyn, I. 307, 308.

Middlesex, Hengist put in possession of, I. 74, 90.
Milo Fitz Walter, his brave action of rescuing the countess of Clare, I. 445—447.
Moel-y-donn, a point of land in Anglesey, II. 256.
Mold, castle of, in Flintshire, taken and destroyed by the Welsh, I. 459, 460. Taken, and all the garrison put to the sword by David ap Llewelyn, II. 119. Taken and demolished by Gryffydd ap Gwenwynwyn, 171.
Mona, (Isle of Anglesey) Suetonius first penetrated to it, I. 16. Conquered by Suetonius and Agricola, 20, 25. The residence of Caswallon prince of Cambria, 55. Conquered by Edwyn king of Deira, 133. See *Anglesey*.
Monmouth, John lord of, warden of the marches, his troops defeated, II. 76—78.
Montgomery, castle of, besieged and levelled to the ground by the Welsh, I. 390, 391. Rebuilt by Henry III. II. 49. Taken by Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, 64.
Mordred, appointed by his uncle Arthur regent of Britain, proved a traitor, and was slain, I. 114—117. His two sons murdered, 119.
Morgan, and other chieftains who had revolted, submit to Edward, II. 337.
Morgeneu, the thirty-third bishop of St. David, murdered by pirates, II. 387.
Morva Rhudd-lan, an ancient ballad, I. 156.
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Nennius, first of the British historians who mentions the bards, II. 303.
Nero, was inclined to relinquish the conquest of Britain, I. 22.
Nêst, daughter of Gryffydd ap Llewelyn, had an illegitimate son named Walter, who was the origin of the royal house of Stuart, I. 337—339. Was married to Trahaearn ap Caradoc, king of North Wales, 335, 351.
Nêst, daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, concubine to Henry I. and had two sons by him, I. 421. Afterwards married to Gerald de Windsor, governor of Pembroke castle, *ibid*. Carried off by Owen ap Cadwgan, 405, 406.

Nobility, British, massacred by Hengist, I. 89.
Norman nobility undertook the conquest of Wales, and many of them settled there, I. 395.
Northumberland, Saxons settle there, I. 76. Kingdom of, founded, 120 Edwyn king of, fell in battle, 134.
Norwegians assist the Welsh against the English, I. 398, 399.

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Octa, the son of Hengist, I. 76, 97. His death, 101.
Offa, king of Mercia, his hostilities with the inhabitants of South Wales, I. 149, 155, and death. 157. His Dyke, the discriminating line between the Welsh and English, 151—154, 337.
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Orcades subdued by the Saxons, I. 76.
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Osric, king of Deira, slain by Cadwallon, I. 135.
Ostorius Scapula, Roman general in Britain, I. 8, 10. His death, 15.
Oswald, united the crowns of Deira and Bernicia into the kingdom of Northumberland, I. 136. His battle with the Britons, in which Cadwallon was slain, 137.
Owen ap Edwyn lord of Englefield, traitorously joined the English, I. 395, 396. Was succeeded in his lordship by his son Gronw, 416.
Owen ap Cadwgan carries off Nêst, the beautiful wife of Gerald, the governor of Pembroke castle, I. 405, 406. Murdered a bishop and all his attendants, 408. Accepted a commission from Henry I. to assassinate Gryffydd ap Rhys, 431. Was slain by the forces of Gerald, 433.
Owen ap Caradoc, in the defence of the castle of Caermarthen for Henry, was slain, I. 426.
Owen Gwynedd, on the death of his father Gryffydd ap Cynan, under the newly adopted title of *prince*, succeeded as sovereign of North Wales, I. 453. Made a third successful expedition into South Wales, 454. Levelled the castle of Mold to the ground, 459, 460. Pulled out the eyes of his nephew Cynetha, and caused him to be castrated, 467. Being attacked by Henry, II. he submitted to do him homage, 471—479. Revolted in a general confederacy with the other chieftains of Wales, 490. Took the

castle of Basingwerk lately fortified by Henry, 498, 499. His death and character, 502—505.

Owen ap Gryffydd ap Llewelyn confined with his father in the Tower, II. 110. Afterwards taken into Henry's favour, 134. On the death of his uncle David ap Llewelyn, he and his brother Llewelyn elected joint sovereigns of North Wales, 133. They conclude a peace with Henry, 135, 136. Owen not enduring a partner in the government, fights with Llewelyn and is taken prisoner, and confined, 137, 138. By Llewelyn's treaty with Edward, Owen is released from prison and receives his forfeited estate, 210.

P.

Palace Smith, at the British court, I. 268, 269.

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Pandulph, a Saxon general slain, I. 110.

Parishes, no distinct, for the clergy at first, II. 390. The institution of, occasioned by the massacre at Bangor, 397, 401—403.

Pascen, son of Vortigern, induces Saxons and Irish to supports his claim to the crown, I. 98. Engaged Eppa to poison Ambrosius, 99.

Patrick, St. converted the Irish, and presided over the church, II. 378, 379.

Paulinus, settled a school at Whiteland, in Caermarthenshire, II. 381, 382.

Pelagianism, disputes about, I. 56. Oposed, II. 378, 379. Eradicated by St. David, 384.

Pelagius, a Briton, educated in the monastery of Bangor, II. 377.

Pembroke, a portion of England, I. 377. In the possession of Arnulph, the son of Roger Montgomery, 392.

Pembroke, Earl of died in Ireland, by treachery, II. 80.

Penda, king of Mercia, I. 134.

Penmaen mawr, a fortification on Snowdon, II. 243.

Pestilence, and famine in Britain, I. 138.

Pentilius Cerealis, a Roman General subdued a great part of the Brigantes, I. 23.

Physician, of the household at the British Court, I. 262.

Picts, inhabitants of Caledonia, I. 32 Invaded the Roman territories, 36, 41. Attack the wall of Severus, 49. Do-

feated by the Saxons, 68. Driven out of Northumberland by the Saxons, 76.

Plautius, a Roman General in Britain, I. 8.

Pool, castle of, in Montgomeryshire, beseiged and taken by the archbishop of Canterbury, II. 3.

Pope, releases Wales from the interdict, and absolves Llewelyn from his oath of homage and allegiance, II. 26. Excommunicates Llewelyn, 33. Excites the Welsh against king John, 31.

Powys, the principality of, its divisions and boundaries, I. 228. It was narrowed by Offa's dyke, 153. The period When it had little concern with the interests of Wales, 374. A great part of it changed into lordships marchers, 383, 384. Princes of, revolted from Henry I. 434. The death of the last prince of, and the division of the principality, 485, 486.

Powys, the Higher, left by Owen Cyveilioc to his son Gwenwynwyn, II. 6, 7. Llewelyn invades it and gains possession of it, 19.

Powys Vadoc, underwent several divisions by the custom of gavel-kind, and was never again united under one sovereign, I. 486.

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Ranulph earl of Chester defeated by the Welsh, I. 442, 463, 464.

Revenues and services of the subjects among the ancient Welsh, I. 190—200.

Rhiwallon and Bleddyn, sons of Cynvyn by Angharad, the mother of Gryffydd ap Llewelyn the late king, were invested by Edward the Confessor with the sovereignty of North Wales and Powys, I. 336. Rhiwallon was slain in battle, 344.

Rhuddlan, castle of, erected by Llewelyn ap Seisyllt, I. 310, 311. A house erected there for the knights, templars by Henry II. 476. Castle levelled with the ground by the Welsh, 501. Strongly fortified by king Edward, II. 203. It was often his residence, 236, 260, 285, 286, 294.

Rhudd-lan marsh; a dreadful slaughter of the Welsh there, by the Saxons, I. 156.

Rhuddlan statute of: a body of laws for the Welsh, II. 293, 294.

Rhun, succeeded his father Maelgwyn in the government of of North Wales; had a long war with the Saxons of Northumberland, I. 122.

Rhun, a favourite, though illegitimate son of Owen Gwynedd, I. 459, 460.

Rhys, the son of Gryffydd ap Rhys, prince of South Wales, not included in the general peace granted by Henry II. I. 480. Submitted, but the king gave him only a few lordships, 481. Revolts, and conquers Caerdigan, 483. Does homage to the king and to his son Henry, 487. Revolts, in a general confederacy of the Welsh, 489, 490. Carries on hostilities with Henry, 490—501. The king granted him peace, and gave him a considerable extent of territory, 508, 509. He is appointed chief justice of South Wales, 513. His peace imbittered by hostilities with his sons, II. 4. His death and character, 5, 6. He was the last prince of South Wales, 158.

Rhys, brother of Gryffydd king of North Wales, put to death by the command of Edward the Confessor, I. 322, 323.

Rhys, the son of Owen ap Edwyn, assassinated Bleddyn ap Cynvyn king of North Wales, I. 348. He, and Rhytherch, the son of Caradoc, were sovereigns of South Wales, 353. Rhytherch being murdered, Rhys remained the sole sovereign, 354.

Rhys ap Meredydd, the lord of Dinevawr, held his territory immediately from the king, II. 200.

Rhys ap Meredydd, being cited to appear in the county courts, refused his compliance, II. 326. Begins hostilities, 327. Has a truce granted him, 329. Raised a new insurrection, 330. Is taken prisoner and executed, 332.

Rhys ap Tewdwr, prince of South Wales, lineally descended from Howel Dda, I. 356. Quells an insurrection, 361, 362. Slain in battle, 366, 367.

Rhytherch, the son of Jestyn, usurped the government of South Wales, and was slain, I. 312, 313.

Rhytherch ap Caradoc succeeds his father in the government of South Wales, I. 315. Was murdered, 354.

Richard succeeds his father Henry II. I. 524. Slain at the siege of Chalons, II. 10.

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NAMES OF PLACES, AND SOME OTHER WORDS, BRITISH AND ENGLISH.

ABER, that point where a river discharges itself into another river or the sea.
Aberdaugleddau, Milford Haven.
Abergefni, Abergavenny.
Aberhonddu, Brecknock.
Aleth, Allectus, the name of a prince.
Ap, son.
Arddyfiech, inhabitants North of the Dyfi; Ordovices.
Arglwyddi, lords.
Beirdd, Bards.
Bela, martin.
Brenhin Cymru Oll, king of all Wales.
Brenhin Prydain Oll, king of all Britain.
Brigyntwys, first-comers, Brigantes.
Bryneich, Bernicia.
Caer-ar-Clwyd, a town standing on the Clyde; Dun Barton
Caer Badon, Bath; by Ptolomy, Aquæ Calidæ; by the Saxons, Bathe.
Caer Efrog, York; Euerwyke, by the Saxons; Eboracum, by the Romans.
Caer Gawr, Stone-henge.
Caer-Lleon-ar-Ddyfrdwy, the city of legions upon the water of Dee; Chester; by the Saxons, Legan-Chestre; in Latin, Deva.
Caer-Lleon-ar-Wysg, the city of legions upon the river Uske.
Caer Ludd, from king Ludd; Llundain; London.
Caer Went, Winchester.
Camaled-ddin, and *Camddin*, Camulodunum,
Cantref Coch the forest of Dean.
Caradog, Caractus.
Caron, Carausius.

Caswallou, Cassivellaunus.
Câthgoed, polecat.
Cefn-y-bedd, the top of the grave.
Clawdd Offa, Offa's dyke.
Corn-buelin, cornet, or bugle horn.
Cymru, Wales.
Cymry, the Welsh.
Cyndeyrn, Cartigern, Vortimer's brother.
Cynfelyn, Cunobeline.
Cynwy, or chief water, Conway.
Cystenyn Ddu, Constantine the Black.
Deifr, Deira.
Derwyddon, or *Drywidion,* Druids.
Dial Rodri, Roderic's revenge.
Dinas Beli, from having been the residence of Belus; originally Tronewydd; London.
Dinas Vawr, or the great palace; Dinefawr.
Dinbech, Denbigh.
Dinwydr, Widrington.
Dinoeth, Dunothus (abbot of Bangor.)
Dyfed, Pembroke.
Emrys Wledig, Ambrosius.
Glwmaen, the tribute of the black army.
Goch, red head.
Goeangiaid, a number of stout young men belonging to each nation, whose business was to protect the cattle; Cangi.
Gwrthefyr Fendigaid, eldest son of Vortimer.
Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau, Vortigern.
Gwy, Wye.
Gwydd, (a conspicuous place;) Isle of Wight.
Gwynedd, I. p. 34. *Gwynedh,* p. 224. North Wales; the *Venedocia* of the Romans.
Gwyr-y-mars, the men of Mercia.
Hafren, Severn.
Hen Fynyw, Menevia.
Iselwyr, Lowlanders.
Iwrch, roebuck.
Law-hir, long-handed.
Llanymddyfri, Llandovery.
Lloegr, England.
Llydaw, (along the water) Armorica.
Macsen Wledig, Maximus.

Maelged, a tribute.
Maes Mawr, Salisbury plains.
Manaw, Isle of Man.
Medd, mead,
Meddrawd, Mordred.
Pengwern, (the head of a place where alders grow) Mathraval.
Pennillion, stanzas.
Pibgorn, pipe, (a musical instrument.)
Rhuddlan, red banks.
Rhyd Ychen, the ford of Oxen; by the Saxons, Oxenford; Oxford.
Saeson, Saxons.
Saesonaeg, the Saxon language.
Seaxes, a scythe.
Sirigi, the rower.
Tabwrdd, tabret.
Tafwisc, or Tame water; Thames.
Tegeingl, Tegenia by the Romans; Englefeld by the Saxons; a part of Strath-Clwyd.
Telyn, harp.
Teyrnged, royal tribute.
Trallwng, Pool (in Montgomeryshire.)
Treffynnon, Holywell.
Tre'n-obantwys, Trinobantes.
Tronewydd, or New Troy; London.
Ty Dewi, St. David, formerly Menevia.
Ty Gwyn ar Dâf, Whiteland in Caermarthenshire.
Tywi, the river Towi in Caermarthenshire.
Uchcyniaid, Upper settlers; Iceni.
Wlediq, illustrious.
Ynys Afallon, or *Ynys Wydrin*, Glastonbury abbey.
Yryri, mountains of Snow, Snowdun.
Ystrad Clwyd, Strath-Clyde.
Ystrad Fflur, Strata-Florida, (in the county of Caerdigan.)
Ystradgwy, bordering on the Wye; Radnorshire.
Ystrad Tywi, the banks of the Towi.

THE END.

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